

BACKGROUND



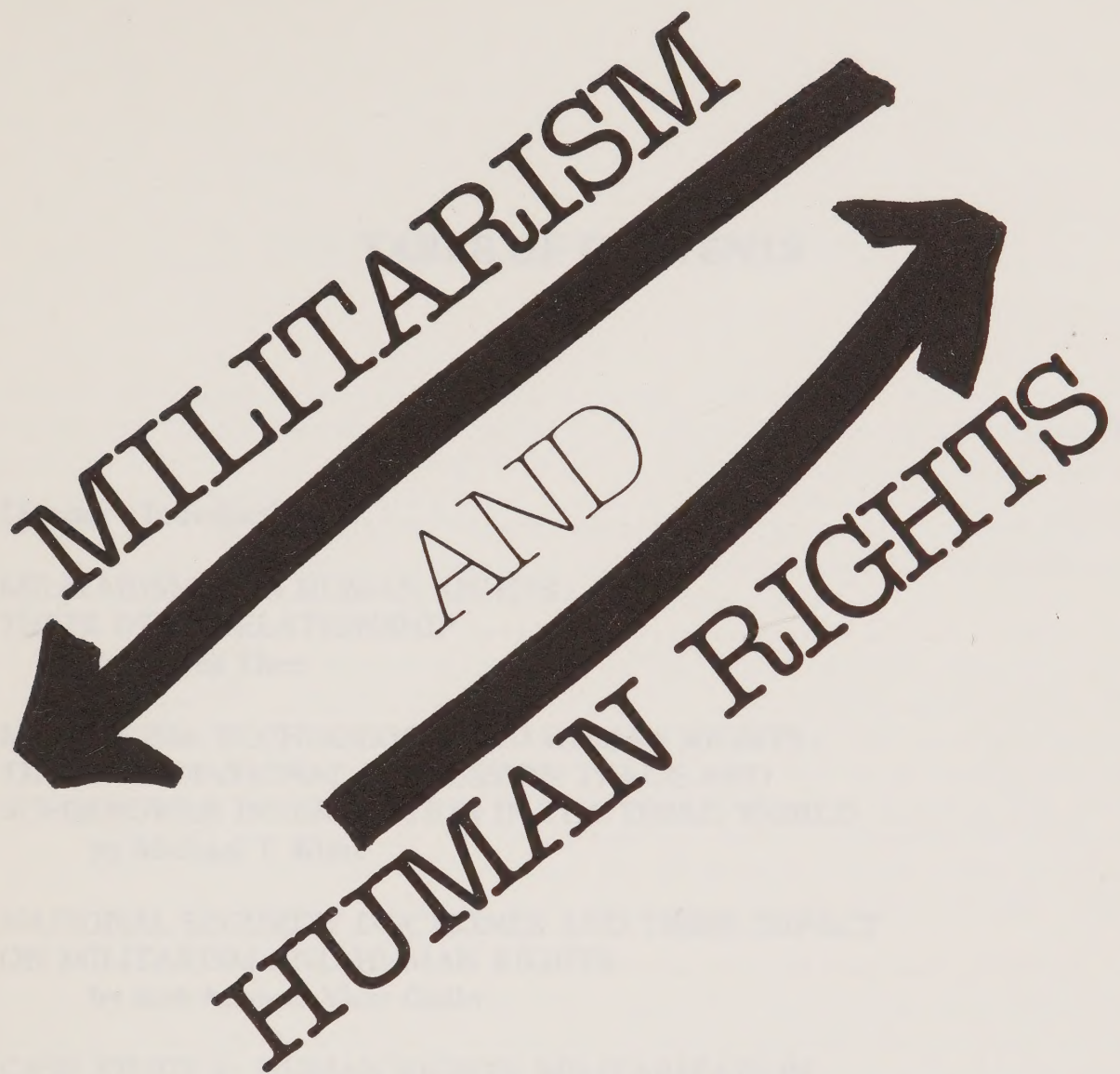
commission of the churches on international affairs

INFORMATION

1982/3

MILITARISM
AND
HUMAN RIGHTS

Reports and Papers
of a Workshop



MILITARISM
AND
HUMAN RIGHTS

Reports and Papers of a CCIA/WCC Workshop
on the Relationship Between Militarism and Human Rights,
Glion, Switzerland, 10 - 14 November 1981

**Commission of the Churches on International Affairs
World Council of Churches**

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DIRECTOR'S INTRODUCTION

Since the Vth Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi, 1975, the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs has had as two programme emphases : the issue of human rights on the one hand, and the area of peace, disarmament and militarism on the other. It was the Consultation on Militarism in Glion, Switzerland, 13 - 18 November 1977 which first defined militarization and militarism in a new way, commensurate with phenomena as they have developed in the post-World War II and the post-colonial era. The 1977 Consultation stated :

“Militarization should be understood as the process whereby military values, ideology and patterns of behaviour achieve a dominating influence on the political, social, economic and external affairs of the state and as a consequence the structural, ideological and behavioural patterns of both the society and the government are ‘militarized’. Militarism should be seen as one of the more perturbing results of this process. It must be noted that militarism is multi-dimensional and varied with different manifestations in various circumstances dependent on historical background, national traditions, class structures, social conditions, economic strength, etc.”

The Consultation went on to point out a number of factors that have made the problems of militarism more serious than ever. These included advances in technology which have greatly enhanced the effectiveness and power of military and police forces; a growing integration of military and civilian sectors; a widespread promotion of psychological insecurity which leads some people to seek refuge in the further acquisition of arms; and the increasing interdependence between the various dimensions and manifestations of militarism in different parts of the world.

In addition, a number of causes which promote militarism were pointed to.

The competition of the USA and the USSR to gain quantitative and technological arms superiority is a major factor in the promotion of militarism. Another factor which promotes militarism is the creation and maintenance of spheres of influence by many major developed nations and some Third World countries. The steep increase in the flow of armaments to the developing countries particularly fuelled by economic and political competition among the arms producing nations, constitutes a form of intervention, creates and maintains dominance-dependence relationships and often encourages internal repression in the recipient countries. One of the most important contributing factors to militarism is the prevalence of new doctrines of national security. The military-industrial-technological complex represents a powerful political force in the determination of national and foreign policies of industrialized countries.

The programme on Human Rights meanwhile undertook studies of the root causes of human rights violation, and one of the most pervasive immediate links to repression, torture and political killings was discovered to be the militarization of societies and political institutions. Studying these phenomena from the point of view of the victims, there emerged the realization that in many instances it is economic factors which lie at the root of human rights violations. In areas where natural resources are rich and abundant, once governmental or transnational corporations begin the process of resource exploitation, military encampments and operations often mushroom, especially if the local populations resist such "development" as being against their interests.

The need therefore was felt by the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs to study more in detail the precise relationship between militarism and human rights. A workshop was convened in Glion, Switzerland, 10 - 14 November 1981, to bring together prominent experts in the field with a view to examining studies which had already been done, as well as to outline areas which need more intensified attention in the future.

As the present *Background Information* documents clearly, several features of militarism have become more prominent in the recent period. One is the greater spread of militarism in the industrialized world. As one example it is pointed out that counter-insurgency techniques developed for use in Third World situations have been applied by police forces of some industrialized countries in their poor urban areas. Another disquieting trend is paramilitarization which is an intensive and systematic use of civilians integrated into the repression apparatus. Such groups are formally not part of the army, though they frequently are organized by the army and have military personnel in their midst. These paramilitary groups engage in kidnapping and in the elimination of persons defined as subversive — usually people who are struggling to promote human rights.

Increasingly the repressive apparatus of the state itself in several countries indulge in political killings now called extrajudicial executions. The number of disappeared persons in many countries is increasing day by day and the vast majority of them are eliminated. Terms like "encounter", "salvaging", etc. denote political killings though the governments often come up with fabricated evidence to show that the victims had resorted to violence. International public opinion has to be mobilized against extrajudicial executions.

Meanwhile the international repression trade has become more widespread and flourishing. This consists of the sale and transfer of police weapons and instruments of torture and the technology related to it. Because of pervasive secrecy it is difficult to obtain any reliable figures on the extent of the repression trade. As the restrictions on arms trade do not apply, transactions are made under ordinary commercial contracts. Thus, very little public exposure has been made of this expanding business in repression.

Torture is systematically used in many countries and the most modern and sophisticated techniques are used. As the WCC Central Committee in 1977 stated "No human practice is so abominable nor so widely condemned (as torture). Yet physical and mental torture and other forms of cruel and inhuman treatment are now being applied systematically in many countries and practically no nation can claim to be free of them."

Another disturbing trend is the adoption of national security or internal security

legislation by a large number of countries. These enactments considerably curtail human rights and give arbitrary powers to the executive. There is a striking similarity in the provisions of this kind of legislation of various countries.

Included in this *Background Information* are the papers presented at the Workshop. Two case studies, on the Philippines and Puerto Rico, detail in concrete data how the complex features of militarism impact the victimized population.

It is hoped that the studies and reports contained here will be of help as churches all over the world struggle to understand and combat the demonic effects of militarism on the basic human rights of peoples.

Ninan Koshy
Director

MILITARISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS : THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIP

Concepts, Norms and Alternative Action

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I. Militarization and restriction of human autonomy

The interrelationship between militarism and human rights in contemporary international relations is in a way self-evident. One need not adopt a partisan-political position to find that the process of global militarization and the spread of militarism have brought about a restriction of human autonomy. This has found expression in different ways and degrees in North and South, in East and West. Establishment-oriented observers would tend to justify both the need for armaments and for the limitation/subordination of human liberties/needs — material and non-material — to the requirements of state security. They would plead for higher military expenditures even at the cost of lower satisfaction of basic human needs. They would also advocate tougher measures against “deviants”, “dissidents” and all those who question the wisdom of assuring security by constantly increasing armaments above the supposed levels of the adversary, and thus perpetuating the arms race.

On the other hand, independent, concerned thinkers — military experts and political analysts who take a considered historical view; religious people who take a conscious ethical and moral stand; scholars with a value-based approach; and vast strata of people endowed with common sense and love/respect for human life — take a different view. In a nutshell, such persons argue that excess in armaments does not buy security; that the arms race of recent decades has made the world more insecure than ever; that armaments deprive society of material and human resources needed for human development; that, as a rule, the development of new weapon systems leads to their use in war. They further argue that the build-up of military arsenals and the arms race fever has resulted in a culture of violence and a widespread use of force in international relations; and that the ensuing abuse of human rights has highly detrimental effects not only on the intrinsic needs for liberty but also on human creativity and productivity, as such abuse leads to deprivation and indeed to repression and destruction of life itself.

In both fields — of militarism and militarization on the one hand, and human rights, freedoms and human needs on the other hand — we have accumulated some basic

knowledge and some insight into their nature, structure and dynamics. In the following, I assay a certain refinement of the concepts concerning militarism and norms embodied in human rights. After probing into their interrelationship, I shall try to draw some conclusions as to what we can do to improve our human performance.

II. Patterns of militarism

1. Historical, situational and dynamic factors

No comprehensive universal theory of militarism exists. Militarism has been differently defined in East and West, by Marxists, liberals and conservatives. While the Left usually blames class structure, capitalism and imperialism, others emphasize the cult of power, nationalism, expansionism and excess in organized violence. Most analysts would, however, agree that militarism, as ideology, function and policy, has a pernicious and corrosive effect on society. It saps morals, impairing human development and endangering peace.

As a socio-political phenomenon, militarism is a historical, situational and dynamic category. It will differ from one stage of history to another. It changes over time and adapts to altered international constellations, seeking always to expand both in the external and internal space. It has developed various patterns in East and West, in the North and South; however, closing up with the globalization of problems of peace and war, different manifestations of militarism are structurally interlocked.

Any analysis of militarism, whether as a general phenomenon or specific political instance, has to be concrete, has to examine structure and function in the definite environment, and has to try to locate it precisely in the international architecture.

Militarism before World War I was a product and expression of expanding imperialism and colonial conquest, and before World War II an instrument of rapacious fascism and the struggle for a redivision of colonial spoils. Today — with the emergence of the two superpowers as well as a three-fold increase in the number of units in the nation-state system — it has changed role, scope and dynamics. Militarism has grown to become global, parallel to such global phenomena as the global arms race, the global proliferation of arms, the superpowers' global reach, and the semi-anarchical spread of use of force within the nation-state system. Contemporary militarism is characterized by the process of global militarization; by a dynamics rooted in the global hierarchy of power; by intense great-power rivalry for spheres of influence, raw materials and sources of energy; by the dominance/dependence relationship between highly industrialized and developing countries, and the spread of military regimes to the Third World; and by the impact of the technological revolution, which has provided qualitatively entirely new instrumentation for military dominance and war preparation.

2. Ideology, structure and function

Essentially, militarism is attitude, structure and function. The material base embodied in the structure is fundamental for the play and functioning of militarism, but it is the attitudinal/doctrinal approach which infuses it with life and vigour. This is in a way the egg and chicken problem, so it may not be very productive to discuss which comes first. As in the Marxist tradition, one approach is to conceptualize the relationship as between base and superstructure. But, then in a dialectical way, the superstructure is seen as exercising a decisive influence on the base.

Fundamental for militaristic postures is a belief-system which views organized violence and use of force as the main tools of orderly governance, social order, stability and international prevalence. It holds that human relations can effectively be regulated only by strong "law and order" enforcement; that crisis and conflict can be overcome by military responses; that role and position in the international community depend on military strength; and that the end justifies the means. From this it follows that discipline and hierarchy, too often channelling into authoritarian rule, are essential for state and nation; that national sovereignty and aggrandizement become contingent on military power; and that the military are seen as the main guardians of national values and state integrity. A variety of extreme attitudes emerges: from nationalism, chauvinism and ethnocentrism to aggressiveness, expansionism and war-proneness.

On this fertile ideological dogmatism, then, grow different military doctrines. These operate in a specific way with such concepts as "national security" and nuclear deterrence, concepts which in the name of peace and dissuasion tend to legitimize armaments, introduce methods of threat and intimidation in the international system and turn the arms race into permanent war preparations.

The ideological/doctrinal approaches sketched above are essential parts of militaristic policies. Military doctrines find application in military strategies, while the worship of military force channels into the threat, and use, of force as instruments of policy and diplomacy.

Underlying the ideological/attitudinal articles of faith and military doctrines/strategies is a firm material military, socio-political and economic base which invests militarism with real strength. Two main pillars of this structure are (a) the competitive alliance of the military, the military industry, the state political bureaucracy and the military technological establishment, an alliance known popularly as the military-industrial-bureaucratic-technological complex (MIBT); and (b) the world hierarchy of power, often termed the world military order. Although the MIBT empires are essentially located only within the bounds of the great powers, East and West, their impact is felt around the globe — as is reflected in the flow of weapons from the great powers to the Third World. But they are also paralleled in embryonic forms — as a rudimentary alignment of the military and the state political bureaucracy, perhaps with support from an infant military industry — in almost all the states participating in the arms race.

On the strength of this structure, the main function of militarism today as a global force is the defence and preservation of the exploitative *status quo* between the North and the South, the rich and the poor countries. This in fact implies a fierce struggle between the great powers for predominance and the seizure of the greatest possible parts of the spoil. On a lower level, military regimes around the world impose their own will on particular states, trying within the national framework to serve the corporate interests of the military and the allied local elites. Structurally they are encapsuled in the global hierarchy of power, and are part of the centre-periphery patron-client relationship between the great powers and the Third World.

Resulting from these policies is the process of global militarization, with many concurrent phenomena such as the encroachment of the military over civilian affairs in state and government; denial of freedoms; repression; and a perennial resurgence of conflicts, external and internal, with the spectre of a global war immanently haunting humanity. These processes have in fact a mutually reinforcing function.

In defining contemporary militarism, one will have to take into account its elements of ideology, structure and function mentioned above. Central to current militarism is the increasing militarization of society and international relations. Directly in its wake follow such phenomena as the rush to armaments, the growing role of the military establishment in national and international affairs, the increasing practice — despite the UN Charter — of the use of force in international relations, the proliferation of repressive military regimes around the globe, the hegemonial role of the great powers, and the dependent nature of Third World militarism.

3. Great power and Third World militarism

A clear distinction has to be made between militarism in its dominant great power form and in its subject Third World form. Though the visibility of militaristic postures sometimes seems higher in the military regimes in the Third World, the real driving forces of contemporary militarism — the armaments plants and caterers, and the guardians of the global “law and order” — are to be found on the apex of the world pyramid of power : the great powers, particularly the two superpowers.

Historically, socio-politically and technologically, the great powers represent a higher class in the nation-state system. They have mastered and refined the use of force, devising a vast gamut of methods, from militarily supported political/diplomatic pressures to outright military intervention. As a rule, the military establishment in these countries has been formally subordinated to civilian authority, whereas in the Third World military influence is exercised in a more direct way. But this civilian-military set-up in advanced industrialized countries is not new to militaristic traditions. It was also practiced in the past by other regimes which went down in history as prototypes of militarism.

The whole issue is essentially a question of the apparent and the real. Military influence within the superpowers is more convoluted, though it is conspicuous in the high portion of national resources devoted to military purposes. Primarily it comes into play through the behind-the-scenes controlling position of the MIBT complex.

In the last two decades, since President Eisenhower in his farewell address first drew attention to the “military-industrial complex” — “this conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry” whose “total influence — economic, political, and spiritual — is felt in every city, every State House, every office of the Federal Government”, in Eisenhower’s words — a sizable literature has appeared dealing with this phenomenon. However, Eisenhower’s notion of the “military-industrial complex” is incomplete. Missing in it, though inherent in the concept, are two key segments : (a) the state political bureaucracy which has a vested stake in armaments as an instrument of policy and diplomacy; and (b) the huge establishment of military research and development (R & D) — about half a million of the best-qualified technical engineers and scientists with an annual budget of US\$ 60-75 billion on a global scale — which animates the race in modern military technology.

The MIBT complex has a pernicious effect on human society. It is interesting to note that Eisenhower’s warning was about the role of the MIBT complex in his own American society. He deeply deplored the “grave implications” stemming from the practices of the “military-industrial complex” — its “unwarranted influences” in the councils of Government; “the potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power”; and the liability “that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.” In

the light of the subsequent US involvement in Vietnam, Eisenhower's warning was indeed prophetic.

Obviously, the MIBT complex exists in both East and West, although in somewhat different system patterns. Official circles in the East, and some leftists groups in the West, apparently not perceiving the profound self-critical meaning of President Eisenhower's warning, have tried to deny the existence of the MIBT complex in the Soviet Union. Their main argument relies on the assertion that in a society with state-owned means of production, profit motives are excluded.

This is a simplistic argument. There is no need for large research to find that the military in the Soviet Union is vitally interested in more and better arms; that the military industry, even within the planning system, scrambles for larger orders and expansion; that the military R & D establishment strives for more funds and greater technological exploits; and that the state political bureaucracy, given the dominant security syndrome, is extremely interested in more impressive arms to be used as instruments of policy and diplomacy.

- This state of affairs can be substantiated by many known realities of Soviet life :
- Soviet economic theory and practice gives high preference to heavy industry, the mainstay of military production.
 - Military, industrial, bureaucratic and technological group interests are pre-eminently represented on all levels of Party and state decision-making councils and assemblies.
 - The very structure and organizational set-up of handling military affairs accords to the military — and to some extent to the military R & D establishment — a special position of power. It retains a virtual monopoly on all basic information, expertise and guidance concerning Soviet military capability, force structure, operational assumptions, strategic planning and external security in general. Thus, the military establishment holds a key position of power in the state hierarchy.
 - Finally, Western-type profit motives are replaced by different degrees of rank, status and privilege — social, political and material — associated with function and position in the state and Party hierarchy.

Given the above realities, the case of the MIBT complex has to be considered seriously not only in the West but also in the East. The controlling position of the MIBT complex is one of the paramount structural features of contemporary global militarization. To recall Eisenhower's warning : did the Soviet Union not stumble into its venture in Afghanistan in a similar way as the Americans did in Vietnam ? On the other hand, theories from the East asserting that socialist states are inherently immune to expansionist tendencies, and that they maintain a strong military organization only for purposes of defence, fall with the increasingly frequent instances of conflict and war between the socialist states themselves. Examples are the conflict between the Soviet Union and China, between China and Vietnam, between Vietnam and Kampuchea, etc. Evidently, state socialism is not immune to such old socio-political, economic and strategic motivating forces in foreign relations as geopolitics, economic interests, nationalistic pressures, military power calculus and state bureaucratic ambitions.

As mentioned above, a full-grown MIBT complex does not exist in the countries of the Third World. Neither have they developed a military industry of size, nor is there a tangible military R & D establishment, even in the few countries producing major weapons. Yet the two other segments of the MIBT complex — the military establish-

ment and the state political bureaucracy — play an important role in most Third World nations, especially in countries where the military has seized power directly, or in countries entangled in local/regional conflicts and arms races.

The fact that the overwhelming part of the major weapons in the arsenals of the Third World countries is furnished by the industrialized countries, mainly by the two superpowers, does not mean that Third World militarism is deprived of any autonomy. There are a number of strong indigenous roots to the military regimes in the Third World. National, religious and tribal contradictions on the one hand, and social unrest on the other invite military intervention, especially in conditions of short and weak traditions of national governance. Essentially, military intervention is a response to weakness. The military seizes power in moments of crisis, promising stabilization, national integration, elimination of corruption, economic progress, social mobility and the enhancement of international standing.

As a rule, the military is unable to deliver the goods. Economically, the lavish waste of human and material resources for the needs of the army distorts economic priorities and curtails scarce resources needed for development. Regimentation, denial of popular participation in the management of national affairs, authoritarian methods and repression tend to corrupt the political process and cripple development efforts.

On the international scene, military regimes are both unfit to buy broad recognition (i.e. because of their repressive nature), and incapable of freeing themselves from great power clientage, because of the dependence on military supplies, spare parts, training and the maintenance of modern weapons. The only way they can express their anger, if any, is by shifting allegiances from one great power to another.

Even with a measure of local autonomy and taking into account the many indigenous sources of Third World conflict, the great powers largely retain manipulative capability to intervene in these conflicts. Too often they use this capability to serve their own imperial interests. In global terms, the dominance/dependence relationship between the great powers and the Third World military regimes is a basic feature of structure and dynamics of contemporary militarism.

III. Nature of human rights

1. The evolutionary and dynamic process

Today, human rights as a normative entitlement have largely become recognized as a common heritage of humankind — inherent in human dignity, sacred, inalienable and irrevocable. However, their articulation and inscription into international law is but a product of modern history. They have evolved in a process which has followed the socio-political, economic and systematic transformation of the international society in the last two centuries. This process started with the abolition of the feudal system in Europe, and the assertion of civil, and political liberties with the French and American revolutions. Next, with the Industrial Revolution and the growing strength of the labour movement, came the recognition of economic and social rights, as expressed i.e. in the constitutional laws promulgated by the Russian and Mexican Revolutions, by the Weimar Republic and, at a later stage, by the modern welfare state. Then, after World War II, in 1948 the UN General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights followed by the two International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights; and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights agreed upon in the United Nations in 1966 (ratified by now by

approximately 70 states). Together these three documents form the International Bill of Human Rights — the core of privileges/entitlements, claims of protection and social security which individuals and human collectives have a legitimate right to assert today.

Though formulated in general terms, their message is unmistakable :

- “the right to life, liberty and security”,
 - “the right not to be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment”,
 - “the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion”,
 - “the right to freedom of opinion and expression”,
 - “freedom from fear and want”,
 - “the right to an adequate standard of living”,
 - “the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger”,
 - “the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health”,
 - “the right of everyone to education”,
- and the execution of all these rights “without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.”

These are but some of the formulations of the International Bill of Human Rights. True, there is a large gap between the letter of law and its implementation. This is especially true as far as the social and economic rights (mainly on objective grounds) in the developing countries are concerned. All the same, a sound framework has been created to pursue the proclaimed rights as binding norms of civilized society. Moreover, the intimate interrelationship between the political and civil rights on the one hand, and the social, economic and cultural rights on the other hand, has been emphasized. Freedoms, autonomy and the liberty of active participation in political life are pre-conditions to the effective struggle for implementing social, economic and cultural rights. Conversely : without distributive justice and the satisfaction of basic social, economic and cultural rights, freedoms become largely the privilege of the few free from want and enjoying material wealth. We return to this issue when discussing the right to development. But, in general terms, this points to the need for *parallel* concern for civil/political and social/economic rights. The often-heard argument that one set of rights may be obtainable only at the expense of the other set seems inconsistent and contradictory to the letter and spirit of the International Bill of Human Rights.

Another feature of the Bill is the emergence of collective solidarity rights beyond the traditional political, civil, social, economic and cultural rights. One aspect of this is the unsolved problem of the satisfaction of the basic human needs of the major part of the population of the developing countries. Another is the assertion of the rights to self-determination and racial non-discrimination. Art. 1 of both the above Covenants on civil/political and social/economic rights stipulates that “all peoples have the right to self-determination.” These rights are *par excellence* collective solidarity rights, having their roots in the emancipation of peoples from the colonial subjugation. The rights to self-determination and non-discrimination were also inscribed in other basic UN resolutions such as the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the 1963 Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, followed by the 1965 Convention on the same subject.

From a historical perspective, we can thus see that the norm-creating and lawmaking

process of human rights has gone through stages reflecting human evolution in modern times, from the individual freedoms won in the wake of the great revolutions of the 18th century, through the focus on social and economic equity in industrial societies, to the broad concern with justice in the post-colonial international community. Cognizance of these three stages — or the three generations of human rights, as they have been termed by some human rights lawyers — is helpful in the conceptualization, elaboration and further development of human rights. It serves also to underline the dynamic, open nature of human rights. True, this is still a far cry in the implementation and enforcement of the first two generations of human rights. However, the very opening into the third generation, yet not fully articulated and inscribed in law, by implication and the interrelationship with the first two generations, tends to reinforce the general structure, sanction and the unfolding of the human rights in the context of evolving international relations.

2. Collective solidarity rights

Human rights are not a closed chapter. We are dealing with a process related to the development and betterment of human society, and as such historically and culturally conditioned. Enriched over time in scope and substance, human rights reflect historically essential needs and socially accepted norms thought best to serve and assure human development. In this sense, a main criterion for human rights must be what is fair, morally just and historically vital, materially and spiritually, for the promotion of a decent and productive human life in individual and collective form.

At the present stage, a central point in the further advancement and amplification of human rights is codification, within the collective solidarity rights, of the right to *peace* and *development* as separate rights of their own. Peace and development of Third World countries are today crucial issues of international relations, and are of paramount importance for human development. Although essentially inherent and logically implicit in the existing structure of human rights, these rights have a specific quality and acute intrinsic salience.

The right to peace can be seen as a collective claim to the right to life. As such it has been embodied in many provisions of the UN Charter and UN resolutions, and recently inscribed again as “the inherent right to life and peace” into the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 1978. But nowhere has the right to peace been treated comprehensively, imbued with its profound meaning, and with an indication of possible enforcement. General provisions and statements — even of cardinal importance, such as the prohibition of wars of aggression and the ban on the use of force in international relations (Art. 2 p. 4 of the UN Charter) or the prohibition of war propaganda (Art. 20 of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights) — deal in disjunction with parts of the problem only. As such, they do not respond to the widely felt need to address the issues in a thorough and exhaustive way.

Two basic questions are involved : (a) the set of issues linked to the problem of peace and war, of armaments and disarmament, of violence and use of force in national and international affairs; and (b) the issue of structural violence related to the loss of life and death as a result of coercive societal factors.

The acuteness of problems of peace and war is obvious. The accelerating arms race and nuclear folly portend not only mass destruction of human life : they also pose the

question of the very survival of humanity. What is long overdue is a reaffirmation, in a concise and pertinent form, of all the UN Charter provisions and of the consensual declarations concerning international security and non-use of force, and the inclusion of these norms and stipulations into the human rights architecture. It is not only governments who need to be reminded of their rights and duties concerning the preservation of peace. Also public opinion is in need of better tools in the struggle for peace. The right to freedom from fear has to be highlighted and accentuated. Disarmament has to become a collective human right, and so also conscientious objection to military service. Codification of the right to peace could have a profound impact on the national and international handling of the problems of peace and war.

Of parallel importance is the *broader conceptualization of peace*, to include not only the absence of manifest violence and armed conflict but also the care for human security in a social and economic sense. This is a longstanding desideratum of critical peace research. The problem has been taken up by UNESCO. In its General Conference resolution of 1974 (18. C/11.1.) UNESCO stated “that peace cannot consist solely in the absence of armed conflict but implies principally a process of progress, justice and mutual respect among peoples”, and “that a peace founded on injustice and violation of human rights cannot last and leads inevitably to violence.”

Seen in this context, assertion of the right to peace involves not only a repudiation of the war system in its military dimension, but a rejection also of peacelessness rooted in social injustice, economic deprivation and repression. Far more people die today from hunger, malnutrition, lack of medical care and various socio-economic causes than from armed conflict. Such a situation cannot but breed anger and conflict. Loss of life caused by structural violence interlocks closely with the destruction of human life as a result of manifest violence.

Perceptibly, a right to peace which would incorporate both concerns against manifest and structural violence is well embedded. It conforms to and naturally emulates the two first generations of human rights, their political and socio-economic dimensions. At the present juncture of international relations, it is a historical imperative.

Related to the right to peace — and similarly embedded in the first two generations of human rights — is the right to *development*. It belongs inherently to the collective solidarity rights. *The World Development Report 1981* of the World Bank records that 750 million people — approximately 40% of the population of all developing countries, excluding China and the oil-exporting countries — lived in 1980 in conditions of absolute poverty, i.e. insufficient in such basic human necessities as food, clothing and shelter. Nor are the prospects for the immediate future much better. Such a situation is an insult to human dignity and represents a challenge to human solidarity. The world cannot possibly remain indifferent to this state of affairs. In the same way as peace is a prerequisite for the full effectuation and enjoyment of human rights, underdevelopment and socio-economic polarization impede the realization of these rights. Constructive efforts, political and economic, on the national and international level to meet this challenge are essential for human development and the humanization of international relations. The right to development is a crucial human right issue.

This is not the place to go into detail of claims such a collective solidarity right may warrant. But two of them would appear important. One is the call for a New International Economic Order which would infuse justice into the international economic

relations, help the developing countries to improve their economy, and focus on the reduction of absolute and relative poverty in these countries. The other is the demand for structural domestic reforms in the developing countries themselves, reforms which would aim at distributive justice, the increase of the living standards of all sectors of the population, especially for those living in deepest poverty.

The codification of the right to development as a basic human right could well serve the satisfaction of basic human needs. Such a right would give material meaning to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights focussing on its implementation in conjunction with the implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Thus, although the concept of human rights, and especially that of collective solidarity rights, derives essentially from ethical and moral considerations, in reality it reflects human self-interest. The implementation of human rights is closely related to the betterment of the human condition, individually and collectively. Human rights are essential for human progress.

IV. Between militarism and human rights

A historically corroborated and mutually-reactive positive correlation exists between militarism/militarization and the violation of human rights. With the experience of World War II in fresh memory, the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind." It was militarism and militarization which started the process; and the subsequent denial of human rights paved the way to concentration camps, war and savage destruction of human life.

The interrelationship between militarism/militarization and human rights is apparent in many fields. However, three spheres of human rights are particularly affected : (a) basic civil and political rights, (b) economic, social and cultural rights intertwined with the right to development, and (c) the right to peace. Civil and political rights are usually the first victims of militarization. This corresponds mainly to the repressive function of militarism. Violation of economic, social and cultural rights generally follows the denial of civil and political rights, with armaments and war preparation dominating the political scene. The impact in the developing countries is particularly strong, as militarization interferes with the development process. Here we again note the socio-economic deforming function of militarization.

A vicious circle is setting in. The establishment of military-related economies and the perpetuation of the North-South dominance/dependence relationship feed the process of international militarization, stimulating its repressive/destitution function around the globe. On the local level, policies of militarization lead to the denial of political, economic and social rights; to growing exploitation and material deprivation. This produces opposition and rebellion, which in turn are met by increased repression and further militarization. Thus, militarization tends to reproduce itself in increasingly intense and extreme forms, and the struggle for liberty and freedom acquires the quality of a material confrontation with militarism. Dialectically, human rights are both victims of militarization and provide an effective tool to counter it.

It is perhaps an irony of history that Third World countries which gained

substantially from the emancipatory effect of the universalization of human rights, have in the process of the post-colonial reordering of international relations become most severely hit by the militarism/militarization malady.

We can see a socio-political regularity coming into play. The weakest links in the chain of nation-states suffer most. These links are weakest because of the low level of development and the intolerable level of satisfaction of basic human needs; because of their peripherization as states in the international community and the marginalization of large stratum of the population domestically; because of military-economic dependence on the great powers, and the lack of resources for asserting independence and providing adequate welfare to the population. Furthermore, these states too often are engulfed in domestic/regional conflicts on national, ethnical and religious grounds; and they are troubled by many other unsolved issues posed by the process of modern nation building. All these factors meet and reinforce each other, thus making many Third World countries victims to militarism and militarization, and the scene of extreme cases of violation of human rights.

We need to adopt a historical and structural perspective. It is necessary to take account of the historical root causes and look for socio-political emancipatory remedies inherent in the contemporary course of history. It is also natural to be less preoccupied with symptoms of violation of human rights, and more with the structural root causes — whether domestically and in the international system — which permanently reproduce the transgressions of human rights. Only structural change can transform the situation in a lasting way.

Awareness of the structural roots to most of the violations of human rights should prepare us for a protracted drawn-out struggle for change. In this struggle both the affirmation/observance of the codified generations of human rights and the legal inscription of new collective solidarity rights are equally important. In the context of combating militarism, affirmation of the right to *peace* is paramount.

V. Alternative action

Alternative action in questions of militarism/militarization and human rights implies obviously, in the first place, acquisition of thorough knowledge about the nature, structure and dynamics of militarism/militarization on the one hand, and the normative framework and architecture of human rights on the other hand — and of their inter-relationship. Such a study is indispensable in order to inform alternative action with real expertise. In fact, effective alternative action entails an educational effort: a self-learning process and conscientization of people about the essence and impact of the explosive/degrading mix of the two highly malignant socio-political phenomena.

One aspect of a general nature concerns the psychological corollary of militarization and of the deterrence mentality which tends to legitimate suppression in the name of national security. Implanted in this process is the instilling of enemy-images across borders and the attribution of the most malicious intentions to the adversary. Lack of empathy turns into distrust, suspicion, fear and hatred. This tends to fragment international society, undermine sentiments of solidarity and dehumanize international relations. It affects both problems of peace and the respect for human rights. This ideological diversion should not be overlooked. It needs special attention in educational efforts.

Second comes the actor approach. There seems to be a need for action on two levels : (a) the establishment level which seeks to improve performance and correct wrongdoings, and (b) the level of public opinion which would seek to activate socio-political forces in the protracted struggle for change. Past experience with problems such as arms control and disarmament, or the implementation of human rights would indicate that in the long run reliance on support from a broad public opinion is essential in order to infuse political will into government actions and bring about change.

The message and appeal for action have to be based on rational, moral and ethical grounds. A matter-of-fact analysis and a well-reasoned argument need to go in hand with and appeal to self-interest and human sentiments/values. It should not be difficult to prove that militarization is counterproductive both to security and economy; that it endangers peace, and — in the case of Third World countries — neither serves the broadly understood national interests, nor helps the efforts to establish a New International Economic Order, and is an obstacle to the affirmation of the collective solidarity right to development. Similarly, the violation of human rights impairs human development and contributes critically to all the mischievous phenomena resulting from militarism/militarization. A well understood self-interest — love of life and attachment to human progress — should dictate actions against the rise of militarism, the spread of militarization and the denial of human rights. At the same time, the appeal to moral, ethical and religious feelings — to humanness, altruism and the ideals of brotherhood — as well as having its own intrinsic weight, tends to strengthen and amplify the rational self-interest argument. Apart from the material issues involved, human rights belong *par excellence* to the domain of human idealism and a degree of exhortation in the name of universal human values is appropriate.

Concrete action in the sphere of human rights has to address itself to four issues :

- a) closing of the gap in the interpretation and implementation of the International Bill of Human Rights in the East and West, North and South;
- b) extending the consensual norms and provisions of human rights to practical spheres of implementation, using such methods as mapping global violation/implementation of human rights, organizing fact-finding missions, and undertaking case studies leading to protection and promotion of universal human rights;
- c) engaging in the lawmaking process concerning the not yet enacted collective solidarity rights — the right to peace and the right to development;
- d) engaging on a more basic plane in fostering structural progressive change on national and international levels which would undercut the roots of both militarism and the denial of human rights. Both step-by-step reform action and radical approaches have to be tried. Such limited initiatives as channelling of resources from armaments to development, furthering the North-South dialogue, action in industrialized countries to show greater understanding for the need of a New International Economic Order, with parallel action in developing countries to introduce elements of equity into development strategies, and curtail militarization, should be helpful both in the hope to make some progress and as elements of the educational effort.

Concerning popular resistance strategies to repression, non-violent methods of

action are to be preferred. Historically, it is well proved that violence breeds violence and rarely have violent methods of struggle brought about true liberation. More often than not they result in the instilling of authoritarian military mentality and more extreme forms of oppression. The theory behind violent methods of struggle is similar to the theory of the oppressors : violence works, the end justifies the means. Yet true liberation requires the preservation in an unspoiled form of the human values which animate the struggle. Some, like Franz Fanon, maintain : "Violence is a cleansing force : it frees the oppressed from their despair." But rather than having a liberating effect, it brutalizes in the long run. Freedom from despair should be sought far more in the deep human and emancipating effects of non-violence. In view of few examples of successful non-violent strategies, the call for non-violence may perhaps be a big order. But rather to become engulfed in violence, the search for effective non-violent strategies should be espoused. Poland may provide a historical example of a successful non-violent revolution in an extremely complex situation. Also in Iran non-violence worked well in the revolutionary phase of the struggle. The revolution subsequently failed because it had no consistent socio-political programme of liberation, and because of the obscurantist-authoritarian ideology of the leadership.

Finally, a word should be said about the nation-state principle of non-intervention in internal affairs which is often used to oppose outside solidarity with movements protesting the violation of human rights. It is difficult to accept the validity of the principle of non-interference in such cases. The adoption of international instruments for the protection and promotion of human rights has made human rights an international concern of universal significance. They are part of the evolution of the global community towards the humanization of the international relations, the community of men and women, interdependence, understanding and peace. Each nation has a right to shape its internal affairs in accordance with the socio-political preferences and cultural traditions. Yet the right for human autonomy, individual freedom and collective solidarity cannot be withdrawn. States parties to the International Bill of Human Rights expressly undertook "to respect and to ensure to all the individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant" (Art. 2.1. of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights). The principle that human rights are inalienable and irrevocable, of universal value and of common concern for all humankind has to be affirmed and respected.

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MILITARISM, TECHNOLOGY AND HUMAN RIGHTS : THE INTERNATIONAL REPRESSION TRADE AND SUPERPOWER INTERVENTION IN THE THIRD WORLD

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It is now generally agreed that we are entering a period of great danger, as the superpowers begin a new stage in the nuclear arms race. Fortunately, this development has sparked a new outbreak of anti-war sentiment — especially in Europe, where the perceived risk of nuclear war has intensified as a result of new weapons deployments by the two superpowers. This recent activity has succeeded, I think, in making us all the more conscious of the terrifying and inhuman logic of nuclear retaliation.

While no one can argue against the importance of protesting the nuclear arms race, I fear, however, that the current concern with nuclear war is diverting attention from equally terrifying trends in the area of non-nuclear weapons and conventional war. With luck, and constant effort on our part, I believe that we have a chance to prevent a thermo-nuclear catastrophe; but at this point I have little hope that we can prevent a new outbreak of conventional conflicts in the Third World.

Most of us are familiar with the basic facts of the international arms trade, so it should not be necessary to talk at length about its characteristics here. Suffice to say that arms transfers from the industrialized countries to the Third World appear to be growing at a geometric rate, doubling in volume every five years or so, and now exceed by 100% total developmental aid by all donors to the underdeveloped countries. You are also aware, I'm sure, that growing Third World expenditures on imported arms are foreclosing any hopes for genuine economic development in these countries, and that such expenditures are creating new forms of dependency on the arms-supplying countries. Furthermore, many of the more ambitious Third World countries are importing the technology to produce arms along with the arms themselves, thereby increasing the total world capacity for the production of armaments.

There is no doubt in my mind that the growing trade in modern arms is stimulating regional arms races throughout the Third World, and that these rivalries will end, sooner or later, in armed conflict. Already, we have witnessed several major outbreaks of war in the Middle East, most recently the conflict between Iraq and Iran. I fear, moreover, that we are about to witness a new outbreak of fighting involving some combination of Egypt, Libya, Sudan, Chad, Ethiopia, and Somalia. Other arms races are underway in Central

America, Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, and these too are likely to end in conflict or in the intensification and spread of existing conflict. And because these countries are buying increasingly sophisticated and capable weapons, any conflict that does occur will be fought at much higher levels of violence and destructiveness than previous conflicts in the Third World. (We have already witnessed a preview of this during the October War of 1973, when 600 planes and 2,000 tanks were destroyed and 100,000 soldiers were killed or wounded in just 17 days of fighting.)

Most people are at least partially familiar with the basic facts of the arms trade, and are conscious of the danger posed by transfers of ever more sophisticated weaponry. But I doubt that very many people realize that the growing trade in arms for conventional wars between states is being accompanied by an even more rapidly growing trade in weapons for *internal* conflicts — between states and their own populations — and furthermore, that the growing sophistication of arms for conventional wars is being matched by the increased sophistication of weapons intended for internal repression.

Repression, for me, is the systematic use of force (or the threatened use of force) by agencies of the state to suppress or deter opposition to government policies by individuals or groups within the civil population. Even democratic societies sometimes resort to naked repression to curb popular discontent which appears to threaten fundamental institutions or policies (as during the anti-Vietnam War protests in the United States), but in authoritarian or militaristic societies repression is a permanent way of life. Indeed, when we speak of the abuse of human rights in such societies, what we are really talking of is the denial of such rights through persistent repression. Thus repression and human rights can be considered opposite sides of the same coin. It follows then that any weapons or devices used by governments in curtailing human rights can be called the *technology of repression*, and that the inter-state commerce in such commerce can be called the *international repression trade*.¹

The international repression trade

The international repression trade (IRT) normally encompasses a wide variety of hardware including: *police weapons* such as pistols and revolvers, rifles and machine-guns, handcuffs, and armoured cars; *anti-riot equipment* such as chemical munitions, shotguns, clubs, and water cannon; *prison hardware* such as chains and leg-irons; *surveillance and intelligence systems* such as listening devices, spy cameras, and computerized intelligence data systems; *counterinsurgency gear* such as helicopters, surveillance planes, and napalm; and *torture devices* such as thumbscrews, electronic shock devices, and trauma-producing drugs. Researchers at the Institute for Policy Studies have found evidence and reports of a booming international trade in all of these products. Thus, under the US Freedom of Information Act, we learned that in 1976-79 US arms firms supplied Third World police forces some 615,000 tear-gas grenades, 51,000 rifles and sub-machineguns, 126,000 pistols and revolvers and 55 million rounds of ammunition through the Commercial Sales programme.² (Much larger quantities of these arms were sold to paramilitary and military forces through the Foreign Military Sales programme.) Nor is the USA the only supplier of such hardware to the IRT: other major arms producers, including England, Belgium, the USSR and Czechoslovakia, are also very active in this trade.³ Besides supplying such “hardware”, moreover, the IRT also includes what might be called repression “software” — training in anti-riot and paramilitary operations, exchanges of intelligence data on dissidents, political and economic support, and ideological indoctrination.⁴

Because of pervasive secrecy, it is difficult to obtain any reliable figures on the extent of the repression trade, but if all forms of counterinsurgency hardware are included I would estimate it to total some \$ 3 - \$ 5 billion per year. This might not sound like much when compared to the \$ 40 billion or so spent each year by Third World countries on regular military equipment, but when we consider that \$ 1 billion can buy perhaps 40 jet fighters or some 4 million pistols or rifles, it is obvious that the IRT actually encompasses a very substantial quantity of weapons.

Like the regular arms trade, the IRT is sustained by a combination of motives on the part of both recipients and suppliers.

The recipient turns to the international marketplace for repression hardware when indigenous technology proves inadequate to contain popular discontent. This usually occurs when a government seeks to extend its sphere of control over the domestic population (e.g., in the process of militarization) and therefore require a more extensive system of social surveillance and control than existing police capabilities can provide, or when opposition forces have gone underground (or into the hills) and successfully resist government efforts to liquidate them. In such cases, the government involved tends to employ greater levels of repressive violence against its opponents (and/or to intimidate potential supporters of the opposition); and because each escalation in the level of repression tends to produce new levels of opposition, these governments turn to the world market for ever more powerful and sophisticated forms of repressive technology. Ultimately, such governments can be said to exist in a *state of war* with their own populations (or significant portions thereof), and the IRT becomes a permanent supply line to sustain that war. ⁵ This situation prevailed in Iran under the Shah and in Nicaragua under Somoza, and exists today in such countries as Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador, and the Philippines.

For the supplier, several motives impell participation in the IRT : The first, of course, is greed : repression sales, while not as big in dollar terms as regular arms sales, are equally profitable for the companies involved, many of which specialize in the manufacture of small arms and counterinsurgency hardware. Such sales are also particularly important to producers in the smaller countries, such as Belgium and Czechoslovakia, and for the new entrants into the arms trade like Brazil and Israel which cannot compete with the major suppliers but which seek to finance their incipient arms industries by selling low-technology gear to other Third World countries. In the case of the major powers, however, other motives are probably dominant. These countries seek to ensure the survival of client régimés which are threatened by indigenous opposition movements. In these cases, the motives of supplier and recipient are in total accord, leading to a degree of collaboration in repression wherein the supplying country becomes a full-fledged party to the internal war described above. This is presently the case in El Salvador, where the USA is committed to the survival of the Duarte regime, and in Ethiopia, where the USSR is assisting the central government in its effort to suppress the separatist movement in Eritrea.

Internal wars and repressive violence of this sort obviously lie near the bottom of the ladder of violence that stretched upward to conventional wars between states and thence to nuclear war. But while the level of this violence may appear low when compared to these other forms of conflict, the total sum of such violence on a world scale is very great indeed. Consider : of the 25 million people believed to have died as a result of armed conflict since 1945, only 5 million died in conventional inter-state wars while all the rest,

20 million, died in civil wars, counterinsurgency wars, and other forms of internal conflict. And when we count all of the people who have been victims of torture, maiming, and political imprisonment in all countries ruled by authoritarian regimes, we are talking about a very large number of people indeed.

For this reason, anyone concerned with peace and human rights has a tremendous responsibility to expose and condemn the international trade in repressive technology. This would be true at any time and under any circumstances. But I think it is especially true now, and under the present circumstances, because we are about to witness a tremendous increase in worldwide repressive violence. This is true, I believe, for two interconnected reasons :

First, and most important, is the fact that the world economic order has entered a period of sustained crisis, leading to the cancellation of even the modest gains in Third World development once promised by the industrial nations. This was amply demonstrated at the recent North-South talks in Cancun, where President Reagan warned Third World delegates not to expect any increase in development aid from the United States. But while economic growth is expected to come to a standstill, this is not true of population growth, which is expected to remain at current high levels — thus producing demands on national resources which simply cannot be satisfied by the existing economic system. And because the governing elites of these countries are not likely to entertain any changes in the economic system that would diminish their privileged position, they are likely to respond with ever higher levels of repressive violence.

At the same time, the two superpowers are finding that their client regimes in the Third World are under increasing pressure from opposition forces. And because they are reluctant to risk the demise of governments which support their economic and political goals, are inclined to respond with increased levels of military and paramilitary support. The United States, for instance, is stepping up its aid to embattled regimes in El Salvador, Guatemala, and the Philippines, while the USSR is embroiled in an increasingly bloody counterinsurgency war in Afghanistan. And this is just the beginning : in recent months, the Reagan Administration has pledged to help the governments of Egypt and Saudi Arabia to resist their *internal* as well as external foes, and has asked Congress to remove existing human rights restrictions on military sales to Argentina and Chile. Both superpowers, moreover, are likely to increase their arms deliveries to friendly regimes in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia.

As these two trends converge — the inability of existing governments to accommodate growing popular pressures for change, and the determination of the superpowers to preserve their constellations of client regimes abroad — I foresee an acceleration of militarization in the Third World accompanied by a tremendous increase in repressive violence.

At first, the role of the major powers will be largely confined to the delivery of increased levels of evermore sophisticated repressive technologies. These deliveries, in turn, will be used by the recipients to identify, apprehend, imprison, and execute dissidents. Increasingly, the use of informers and torture to elicit information on underground activities will be supplemented by electronic surveillance devices and computerized intelligence data systems. Indeed, we can already see this process underway in the Southern Cone of Latin America, where computers have come to play a major role in social control and internal warfare.

As time goes on, however, I believe that such *indirect* forms of intervention by the superpowers will be superceded more and more frequently by *direct* forms of intervention — first the deployment of advisers and technicians (as in El Salvador), and ultimately the deployment of regular combat troops (as in Afghanistan) :

The “Brown Doctrine”

For the United States, at least, such involvement would represent a significant change in policy. After the Vietnam war, the United States adopted a “never again” stance on the use of US combat troops in internal conflicts in the Third World — this being the so-called “Vietnam Syndrome”. Under the Nixon Doctrine, America’s counterinsurgency function was delegated to “surrogate gendarmes” such as Iran and Brazil. With the fall of the Shah, however, US leaders lost confidence in the Nixon Doctrine, and began moving towards the reinstatement of America’s traditional interventionary posture. This process was completed when the Iranian hostage crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan lent popular legitimacy to the revival of interventionism.

To a large degree, the current military posture of the USA represents a reaffirmation of the Truman and Eisenhower Doctrines, and other Cold War policies which were used to justify US intervention against pro-Soviet forces in the Third World. But there is also a new element in US interventionist ideology that represents a qualitative break with the past. This element I call the “Brown Doctrine” after former Secretary of Defence Harold Brown. This Doctrine basically states that Third World instability *by itself* — whatever the ideological orientation of the antagonists involved — is a threat to the existing world order and thus to US economic security. The Brown Doctrine further assumes that the USA and its industrial allies are becoming increasingly dependent on the raw materials (especially oil) and markets of the Third World, and that these “vital interests” are increasingly threatened by Third World “turbulence” — meaning social, economic, political and religious strife. ⁶

This conception was first elaborated by counterinsurgency theorist Guy Pauker in an influential 1977 RAND Corporation report on the *Military Implications of a Possible World Order Crisis in the 1980s*, in which he stated that “there is a non-negligible chance that mankind is entering a period of increased social instability and faces the possibility of a breakdown of global order as a result of sharpening confrontation between the Third World and the industrial democracies.” And because Third World governments can no longer be relied upon to control such disorders using indigenous repressive capabilities alone, the USA, “as a superpower cast by history in the role of world leadership”, would have to be prepared to “use its military force to prevent the total collapse of the world order.” ⁷ The same approach was stated even more crudely by Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, architect of the US intervention in Vietnam, in *Foreign Affairs* magazine as follows : “As the leading affluent ‘have’ power, we may expect to have to fight for our national valuables against envious ‘have-nots’.” ⁸

This approach became national policy in 1980, when Secretary Brown told Congress that “international economic disorder could almost equal in severity the military threat from the Soviet Union”, and that, “in a world of disputes and violence, we cannot afford to go abroad unarmed.” ⁹ Out of this logic came the Rapid Deployment Force and the present revival of the counterinsurgency establishment of the Vietnam era (i.e., the Green Berets, which have now been sent to El Salvador). ¹⁰ And while the Reagan Administration has repudiated many of the policies of the Carter Administration, it has fully endorsed

the Brown Doctrine and pledged to defend US overseas economic interests against any further outbreak of Third World "lawlessness".

It appears, therefore, that current US efforts to prop up threatened clients in the Third World will result ultimately in more direct forms of military intervention, ending possibly in a repeat of the Dominican Republic intervention of 1965 or even of the Vietnam war. This is, needless to say, a frightening prospect. But it becomes much more terrifying when we consider all the changes in the world since the beginning of Vietnam. As a result of the international arms trade, Third World countries are much more powerfully armed than they were just 10 or 15 years ago, and thus any conflict between the USA and potential adversaries like Libya or Cuba will be fought at much higher levels of violence than earlier interventionary conflicts; in such cases, it is not impossible to imagine a situation in which US forces face defeat and thus Washington resorts to the use of tactical nuclear weapons. Furthermore, we cannot forget the fact that the USSR has become more deeply involved in the Third World over the past 20 years, and is evidently prepared to help defend *its* allies and clients against Western-sponsored interventions. Hence, it is entirely possible that an intervention by one superpower in the Third World will result in a confrontation with the forces of the other superpower, thereby triggering a major conflict and even possibly a global nuclear war. This, indeed, is *the most likely way in which a thermonuclear war will break out*.

But even if this process does not result in a World War III, it will assuredly result in even greater levels of militarization and repression in the Third World, with a corresponding decline in human rights. Accordingly, I feel that we have a tremendous responsibility to oppose the international trade in repressive technology, and especially to oppose the interventionist impulse of the superpowers. This will not, of course, be an easy task. But I believe that the churches can play an extremely effective role in exposing and condemning the international repression trade and, perhaps more importantly, in challenging and discrediting the "haves vs. have-nots" ideology that underlies the current build up of interventionist forces in the West.

Notes :

1. For further elaboration of this concept, see : Michael T. Klare, "The International Repression Trade", *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (November 1979) or "Le Commerce International des Moyens de Répression" *Le Monde Diplomatique* (Juin 1979).
2. See : Michael T. Klare and Cynthia Arnson, *Supplying Repression*, 2nd ed. (Wash. : Inst. for Policy Studies, 1981), Appendix III.
3. *Ibid.*, Appendix I.
4. The transfer of such aid was a particular function of the US "Public Safety" programme. See : *Ibid.*, Chap. II.
5. For discussion, see : Carol Ackroyd, et al., *The Technology of Political Control* (Penguin, 1977), and, Marjo Hoefnagels, ed., *Repression and Repressive Violence* (Amsterdam, Swets and Zeitlinger, 1977).
6. For further elaboration of the Brown Doctrine, see : Michael T. Klare, *Beyond the 'Vietnam Doctrine'* (Wash. : Inst. for Policy Studies, 1981), Chap. II.

7. Guy Pauker, *Military Implications of a World Order Crisis in the 1980s* (Santa Monica : RAND, 1977), p. 1-2.
8. Maxwell D. Taylor, "The Legitimate Claims of National Security", *Foreign Affairs* (April 1974), pp. 586-587.
9. Harold Brown, *Dept. of Defence Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1981* (Washington, 1980), pp. 45, 61.
10. See : Klare, *Beyond the 'Vietnam Syndrome'*, Chaps. V, VI. See also Michael T. Klare, "Une Nouvelle Doctrine de Contre-Insurrection", *Le Monde Diplomatique* (Avril 1981).

NATIONAL SECURITY DOCTRINES AND THEIR IMPACT ON MILITARISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

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There is a close relationship between the process of militarization in society and international relations, the arms race and doctrines of national security. National security doctrines serve to justify the expansion of the military-industrial complex and to furnish hypotheses of conflict which determine or at least condition advances in military research and the production of increasingly sophisticated weapons. The point where militarization and national security doctrines come together frequently coincides with the rise of political militarism : the military takes control of the State and establishes an authoritarian political regime which violates human rights. ¹

At present and since World War II there is a debate going on about the concept of national and international security. Because of the traumatic experiences in the field of human rights caused by the triumph of certain versions of national security and because of the increased danger of war, there is greater awareness that civilians must be better informed about military issues and that these must be widely discussed in society. The peace and anti-nuclear movements in the USA and in Western Europe have been an important factor in moving in this direction. Security has ceased to be the exclusive affair of military circles and their high command academies. It is known that strategic military thinking can decisively influence the internal affairs of a State and its foreign policy.

The modern state and the concepts of security

Security can be understood either as the capacity of a State to confront internal and external threats to its order or as “protecting the people’s life from threat”. ² The first places the accent on the security of the State and the second on the security of individuals. In my opinion, these are or should be inseparable elements.

There are various versions of the doctrine of national security, and consequently different policies of security. Amongst these there are marked differences and even contra-position. Nevertheless, the main subject common in all of them is the State-Nation. Regional or international security is generally conceived — in spite of the progress made through the United Nations Charter — as a projection of the action of the States resulting from national security. The security of the individuals is not considered

in itself. This determines the existence of some basic common elements between the different concepts of national security.

It is extremely difficult to classify the doctrines and policies of national security, because of their spacial and temporal variation. The following table presented by Takashi Inoguchi establishes eight types of security policies which depend on the active or passive role played by the State.

Level of Activity	Level of Strength	Focus of Attention	
Active	Strong Weak	Outward-looking Conquest Hegemony	Inward-looking Revolution "Finlandization"
Passive	Strong Weak	Manipulation Manoeuvring	Seclusion Submission 3

Models of this type can be elaborated combining different elements. They are useful in demonstrating the complexity of this issue.

Since the Second World War the notion of the defence of one's territory has been progressively replaced by that of the security of the nation. The latter implies the perpetuation of a particular pattern of social relationships and the respect of certain legal procedures in introducing change. The step from defence to security is due to the militarization process, i.e. to the widening of the functions of the military in society, the development of some strategic concepts overcoming classical notions of geopolitics which emphasized territory as the determining factor in the life of the State. These various elements operate within the context of the rapidly advancing phenomenon of economic, political and cultural transnationalization, augmented today by the impact of microelectronics and telecommunications. Nowadays it is no longer sufficient to defend the borders of the State to maintain security. Covert forms of intervention have been developed capable of destabilizing political regimes without the need of direct military intervention. Because of this, security has become a basic issue in the politics of modern States, whatever their system of government.

"The security of a State is its capacity to assert its fundamental identity in time and space. To accomplish this, the State must legally protect the basic identity of each one of its constituent elements. A State is secure when each one of its integral elements is secure. The security of the territory consists in its integrity; for the government, its stability; for the citizens, in the tangibility of their fundamental human rights".⁴ Accordingly, security refers to the three classical elements that the judicial theory considers as constituent of the State. The problem arises when harmonious relationship does not exist between these elements : for example, when a State declares war, exposing its citizens to its calamities, under the pretext of defending its boundaries; or when human rights are limited or violated in order to defend the stability of the government. In our judgement

the primary element, not only of State security, but also of the legitimacy of the State as political community, is human rights. A policy of security which theoretically or practically sacrifices the dignity of the citizens should not be applied, even though it is done too frequently.

Moreover, there is some relationship between the internal order and the international position of a State. Politics has become increasingly interdependent. Security has transpassed the borders of any State. Today we speak of regional security, the security of a given political-military alliance, international security. The problem is that the international system is asymmetrical and gives rise, in crisis situations, to general insecurity. Some speak of global ingovernability with specific repercussions in each country. Military strategies propose to overcome an increasingly felt vacuum of cultural perspectives and values.

Security, democracy and authoritarianism

In general terms, it can be affirmed that there are two major tendencies affecting the concept of security :

(a) one which conceives of security as based on the principle of popular sovereignty, the cornerstone of authority. The authority of the State is based on a kind of “social contract”, and not on natural order, nor tradition, nor privilege or the specificity of a nation. The State possesses coercive power and monopoly of force within the framework of a series of principles which constitute its authority and stem from the recognition of dignity of individuals and all it entails. This is a trend of thought which goes from Rousseau to Marx over Hegel. How to put an end to the tension between politics and civil society remains an open question, knowing that, on the one hand, the formalism of liberal democracy entails class domination and, on the other, there is no short term historical possibility for full and complete identification between civil society and State. According to this line of thought, force may be used to defend the security of persons — the sphere of their individual rights — as against other individuals and the State, as well as the security of the State menaced by internal or external aggression or threat of it, within established limits of respect for the legal system, democratic procedures and certain basic ethical values. Security is identified with maintaining the constitutional order. It admits pluralism. Change is not a threat, inasmuch as it is regulated by law; threat is defined as the use of unlawful force. The role of the military has well-defined limits. At the global level, this line of thought has given rise to modern international law, as basically defined in the Charter of the United Nations.

(b) But there is also an authoritarian tradition still with us, which considers use of force rather than rational exercise of freedom as the foundation of authority. Hobbes is a clear representative of this. Natural law or the “natural State” demand coercive action of the State to prevent people from discharging their innate destructive aggressiveness. Only the threat of violence prevents internal fights and wars. Despotism is thus based also on a kind of “natural law”. It has no place for political reason. Such authoritarianism lingers on in liberalism, in idealism and in socialism. It is based on the primacy of private property, State ethics stemming from “scientific” reason, above political liberty. This authoritarian tendency is expressed by an organic theory of the State proposed among others, by Rudolf Kjellén, the father of the modern concept of geopolitics. According to this theory, the State is a living organism, a kind of a “superperson”, which is born, grows and dies, with goals to be attained and dangers to be overcome. The role of the military is,

then, the highest and most exalted expression of the vital dynamism of the nation. Certain currents of psychology, such as neo-instinctivism (Konrad Lorenz) and behaviourism (B.F. Skinner) which maintain that destructive aggressiveness is an inherent element in human life, support the authoritarian universe of the modern State. War and not politics becomes normatic for any living together. Politics is seen as artificial or, inverting the dictum of Clausewitz, as an extension of war. Security, thus, becomes the primary value of the State. Individuals can attain this only through the protection by the State which needs to be permanently on guard against "the enemy". This enemy is not found outside the State only, but also within its inhabitants and even in the heart of each individual. On some occasions, Catholic integralism has theologically sanctified authoritarianism and supported it by its ethics and philosophical conceptions.

These tendencies are easily identifiable in western cultural traditions. We are not able to establish parallels with radically different cultures (Islam, China). Nevertheless, both the democratic tendency as well as the authoritarian one, have reached universal dimensions under different forms. The debate on security is part of a much wider problem of our modern culture.

As can be seen, different conceptions of security are related with mutually incompatible theories of the modern State. We cannot avoid the problem of security by denying its *raison d'être*. Rather, we must enter fully into the debate.

Elements which define the security of the State

Security depends on various internal and external factors. Authoritarian cultural currents place the emphasis on military dangers and threats. They maintain that the essence of international relations stems from acquisition and use of power. In the USA, for example, Niebuhr, Kennan and Morgenthau represent this school of thought. This neo-realistic school "... was a violent reaction to American political idealism, represented by W. Wilson and F.D. Roosevelt, against the hollow ideas of universal peace, of disarmament, against all that is illusion, dream, utopia or lack of realism in politics. It accuses such idealism for its total lack of sense of real politics and, therefore, it accuses it of opening the road, by its ignorance or naiveness, to cynical adventurers such as Hitler or the Japanese generals. It places opposite to pacifist idealism of dreamers a crude vision of the real interstate system. But it does so in such a radical way that in turn, it justifies the politics of force and of *raison d'état*..."⁵

For this school of "political realism" the achievement of the goals of a specific nation will basically depend on the national power it is capable of developing. For that, the armed forces are a fundamental factor.

The development of this tendency in the United States influenced not only its external policy, but also its political system : The National Security Act of 1947 created the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Defense Department and institutionalized the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces. Many authors consider this legislation incompatible with the democratic values of the US-American Constitution. There is an obvious relationship between these norms and the development of the industrial military complex as denounced by Eisenhower.

In the aftermath of the doctrine of "socialism in one country", another political line developed in the USSR asserting the inevitability of conflict between capitalism and

socialism and, thence, of war as such. It stemmed from a syndrome of isolation. A whole complex of problems, domestic, international and even of the communist movement at large, was perceived in this light. Subsequently, in the era of détente, that position changed to argue that “the struggle between capitalism and socialism is not resolved in the battlefield, but in the realm of peaceful work”.⁶ In the People’s Republic of China, on the other hand, the thesis of inevitability of war remained current for a long time, even though modified by the idea that “war can be postponed”. But also Soviet interpretation continued to follow Lenin’s claim that, regardless of the good intentions of individual political leaders, the general causes of war are rooted in monopoly capitalism which is intimately tied to militarism.⁷

The tendency to give prevalence to the military aspect of security is characteristic to all militaristic regimes of the Third World, and especially, those of Latin America, the ASEAN countries, South Korea and South Africa.

There is a tendency that, in contrast, insists that security encompasses a broader spectrum of factors, especially economic ones. This was the thinking of McNamara and Kennedy when developing the doctrine of flexible response (1961). It is still prevalent in Western European countries, especially those most directly affected by the oil price and scarcity consequences of the Middle East crisis. The Japanese government, in its Report on Comprehensive National Security (1980), after dealing with strictly military issues, insists that its security depends on oil, food and scientific and technological development in the field of computers, electronics and telecommunications. This is Saburo Okita’s thesis of the concept of “comprehensive security”. In Latin America the clearest expressions of this tendency to relate national security and economic development are reflected in the political experiences of Brazil (1964 onwards) and Peru (1968-1975).

Both the authoritarian and democratic lines do show awareness of the great complexity of the question of “security”. The authoritarian trend, however, registers a constant tendency to reduce security factors to a realm of military strategy alone; in contrast, the democratic line insists that the very complexity of the phenomenon requires the primacy of politics and diplomacy. Characteristically, this line also defines security as relative and in changing terms in accordance to concrete circumstances.

Militarism and the doctrine of national security in the Third World

The doctrine of national security was born in the USA after the Second World War and spread to the Third World along with US-American hegemony. Its fullest expression is found in the thesis of flexible response and the emphasis of the same on counter-insurgency warfare. Some of its first theoreticians were French military from the French Indochinese and Algerian wars. But those who developed it were the US-Americans. The first practical applications of the doctrine of national security can be found in the Philippines and, then, Korea, Vietnam and Indonesia. In Latin America it began to be applied after the Cuban revolution.

The present period is seen as dominated by a frontal confrontation between the USA and the USSR. Since war cannot be waged on this scale because of the consequences of the use of nuclear weapons, Soviet aggression — so the doctrine claims — would have changed its methods and resorted to promote internal subversion abroad. All conflicts in the Third World are thus reduced to a single cause: the USSR. In Latin America that doctrine has produced some of its clearest and most consequent expressions.

According to the Latin American theoreticians of national security doctrine, internal subversion is the most important threat to national security. Traditional warfare theories considered the national territory as only subsidiary to the theatre of military operations proper. But in counterinsurgency warfare, the main front is the internal one. As its outcome, a latent and permanent war takes place between the State and an enemy who becomes identified with the very people of that State.

The enemy, thus, is permanent and omnipresent : “subversion is more than the mere objective emergence of an armed group. The phenomenon of subversion is much more complex, profound and global”.⁸ Trinquier and other theoreticians of counterinsurgency warfare point out that the enemy is found everywhere and anybody providing him aid, even at the humanitarian level, must be considered an enemy as well. The enemy must be treated without consideration, killed, maltreated, tortured, intimidated, spied upon, persecuted, denounced, kidnapped and exiled. Argentine military have held that “in the history of our country there never has been a struggle similar to the one we are waging today, one that knows no moral or natural limits, and which goes beyond the human level.. It knows only one limit : that of our lives in the face of death.”⁹

Golbery da Couto e Silva recognizes that “from strictly military warfare we have passed to total warfare : economic, financial, political, psychological and scientific. And from total warfare we have passed to global warfare; and from there to indivisible and — why not recognize it ? — permanent warfare.”¹⁰ Conflict reaches its highest expression in counterinsurgency warfare. The population is divided into two parts and the whole country, including all its resources and activities, is mobilized to face an internal warfare. A state of emergency is declared and vast intelligence and repressive services are organized and endowed with absolute powers. Their function extends beyond the civilian population and includes the members of the armed forces themselves. For, if the threat is imminent and contagious, with an unequalled ability to insinuate itself everywhere, who can be considered immune and free from suspicion ? Finally, thus, the repressive power turns against itself, as a snake biting its own tail.

Subversion is generated both by ideas and actions. And ideas are its most dangerous expression. They poison the minds and destroy “the soul of the people”, “the national heritage”. The government, therefore, has to declare war against all ideas defined as foreign, i.e. opposed to the national heritage.¹¹ Counterinsurgency struggle becomes a struggle against deviations, errors, sin, and finally, society. It is a purification and a crusade by fire and blood. Subversion, fruit of the weakness of the human soul, lurks in each mind, waiting for the most opportune moment to strike. Hence the need for discipline, ascetism, military rigidity.

Parallels of such positions can be found in South East Asia and South Korea and are an expression of the growing process of militarization in that zone, through the new USA-Japan Treaty (1980), the alliance with South Korea, the attempt to extend this alliance to Australia and New Zealand, and the growing military manoeuvres of the ASEAN nations. China is no longer America’s main enemy. The USA no longer “restrains Chinese expansionism”, it applies instead a strategy of converging interests. Thus, it has abandoned the “strategy of the two and a half wars” (with the Soviet Union in Europe, China in Asia, and any given additional local war). The new security schemes for North-South relations and South East Asia have as primary objectives to maintain the stability of a zone characterized by internal conflicts in almost all of the countries dominated by authoritarian and military regimes.

Among the major objectives of today's US foreign policy in Asia are : maintenance of a balance of power in the region, enhancement of political and economic stability of the non-Communist countries, thus ensuring American access to the resources and markets in the area, and guarding the major sea lanes between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The primary security problem for US allies in the region should be according to US foreign policy objectives, "domestic insurgencies". Washington prefers to help indirectly through military arms sales and military assistance. The US currently regards the economic strength and cohesiveness of the five pro-US countries in ASEAN — Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand — as the best bulwark against "local insurgencies". The new constitution of South Korea, dictated by Chun Doo Hwan, as well as that of Marcos in the Philippines, the Act of Internal Security in Singapore, the repressive legislation of Malaysia (Act of Internal Security, 1960, Regulation of the Essential Cases of Security, 1975, and the Law of Essential Emergency Control, 1979), Indonesia and Thailand, all reflect an authoritarian conception of the security of the State. The enemy is "subversion". Repression is justified in the name of State security, justifying events such as the massacre, in 1980, of civilians in Kwangju, South Korea. National security in these regimes is directly related to American security. Thence the US military bases in the regions as well as military aid given by the USA. The conflict in the Indochinese peninsula and the Soviet and Chinese intervention worsen the situation and stimulate the union between militarization and national security. Models of development of neo-liberal orientation are applied as constant "fellow travellers" to the doctrine of national security.

Evolution of militarism and national security doctrines in the Third World

While offering a general conceptual framework and some basic categories, the national security doctrine is nevertheless unable to provide military elites with either clear or sufficient orientation. It leaves a number of margins and grey zones for interpretations which may range from nationalistic authoritarianism to Third World progressivism. The national security doctrine alone is incapable of solving conflicts within the armed forces. It does, however, contribute to a homogenization of mentalities among higher officers as it favours authoritarian conservative tendencies which as such are more akin to military institutions.

The new Latin American militaristic regimes, declaredly inspired by national security doctrines, show and generate deep contradictions. The main ones are (a) authoritarian State versus economic neo-liberalism (speaking of "the national heritage", the national security doctrine should, in fact, favour economic autarchy, but this is categorically opposed to the economic postulates of the School of Chicago); (b) affirmation of nationalism versus external dependency (this problem is particularly acute in Brazil, especially since this country opted for a "responsibly pragmatic" diplomacy); (c) continental solidarity against subversion versus sharpening of national rivalries, border conflicts and struggles for hegemony (especially between Chile and Argentina, but also between Argentina and Brazil for the River Plate Basin; Bolivia's claim for an exit to the sea; Peru and Ecuador); (d) modernization versus marginalization of the majority (as dual societies are taking shape, the national unity, proclaimed by the doctrine of national security is in actual fact breaking down with new sources of conflicts appearing); (e) government versus military institutions (especially Chile where the regime tends to take the form of a personal dictatorship); (f) exaltation of the military versus the regime's lack of consensus and a growing discredit of the armed forces; (g) proclamation of security as a supreme value versus the real state of actual internal and

external conflict relations (an analysis of the situation based on coherent criteria of the doctrine of national security would in fact verify a decrease of security, both internal and external).

As a result of all this, a species of *de facto* precariousness and growing tendencies of military dissent can be discerned.

Looking at the whole issue in the light of the current real relationships between such new forms of State in the Third World and the existing trends and policies to restructure the whole international economic system in response to the present crisis, one discovers that the ongoing processes are neither one-directional nor absolutely deterministic.

Militarist regimes change rapidly as they cannot stay immobile while numerous factors which generated them are changing. Mutations affecting militarist regimes seem to go in three different directions :

- a. **Institutionalization** : the emergence of a new type of State based on the consecration of individual non-political freedoms (the absolute law of the market), a drastic decrease of the role of the States in economy (subsidiarity) and, as a consequence, the coming about of an authoritarian and elitist regime of "protected democracy" based on technocracy and military power. A "national security power" is incorporated in the constitution, above any other possible manifestation of popular sovereignty, and of which only the military themselves can be held responsible. This is happening, for instance, in Chile, in Uruguay, and in the Philippines.
- b. **Political openness** : gradual transfer of government mechanisms to civilians while maintaining economic, political and military structures created at the time of dictatorship. The military return to their quarters but with a higher bargaining power than when they directly run the government. This is the case in today's Brazil.
- c. **Democratization** : an outcome of a process of growing awareness by the civilian society in an in depth evaluation of the functioning of military regimes resulting in a redefinition of the functions of the armed forces. Such a process may take on various forms : from popular insurrection to the creation of transition governments, depending on the specific conditions in each country.

Each one of these alternatives has a distinct impact on national security doctrines and on military thinking at large : from the triumph and consolidation of the national security doctrine to the "limiting of political activities of the military"; perhaps their radical transformation.

The national security doctrine, as an institutional ideology of the armed forces, has been incapable of solving the crises of society, including those affecting the military establishment itself. To the contrary, it has accentuated the various elements of the crisis. As time goes on, it is losing its grasp and becoming less and less capable to react to those who attack it.

National security and US-USSR bipolarism

The military regimes of the Third World, inspired by the national security doctrine, came into conflict with Washington during the height of the trilateral policy and the

Carter Administration emphasis on human rights. In some cases it even led to suspension of arms sales and military assistance. Nevertheless, these regimes could always depend upon the support of the military-industrial and bureaucratic complex. As a strategy they sought alliances against the ruling liberal currents within the White House. With the present Reagan Administration, these regimes have found a complete and consistent harmony. The goal no longer is to attain "viable and governable democracies" as posed by the Trilateral Commission. It suffices to have authoritarian governments, as distinct from "totalitarian" ones, according to Mrs. Kirkpatrick. The current North American emphasis on the "Soviet threat" and rejection of détente find full echo with Third World generals, illustrated by Haig's equation of terrorism with movements of national liberation (or any open opposition). As an outcome, military aid is now available in unlimited amounts unhampered by limitations imposed by human rights considerations. The so-called Santa Fe document, drawn up by a group of Latin American experts for the Reagan presidential campaign, is clear in this regard: the US should abandon moralistic pretensions and practise a pragmatic and aggressive foreign policy; it is not sufficient to "contain communism", for "détente is death". The US should move to the offensive — exemplified by the creation of the "Rapid Deployment Force". It is true that such new cold war policy, analogous to and yet different from that of the fifties, faces a profoundly changed world, where US hegemony no longer operates unchallenged. But rhetoric can often be dangerous enough.

Part I on Internal Subversion of the Santa Fe document states: "North American policy in Latin America must recognize the integral entailment between internal subversion and external aggression" (while previously, it had proposed the "reaction of the traditional military ties in the continent").

The change of the strategic concept of the USA began with Schlesinger in 1975, continued with Carter and later with Reagan. It started from the doctrine of flexible answer which practically excluded the use of nuclear armament, except in the case of a strategic conflict with the USSR. Slowly, however, it entered concepts that posed hypothetical uses of tactical nuclear weapons and the possibility and desirability of targeting nuclear missiles against enemy missiles and no longer against enemy cities. Thus, today limited nuclear wars in the Third World or even in Europe are conceived as distinct possibilities without the need to escalate into a nuclear war between the two superpowers. These strategies are closely linked to the development of the rapid intervention force (Rapid Deployment Force), which would permit the USA to control critical or conflict situations in the Third World, after the failure in Iran of the Nixon-Kissinger strategy of dependence on national allied armies. The present doctrine of national security in the USA takes into consideration two aspects: the nuclear aspect of a possible USA-USSR conflict as well as counterinsurgency tactics to impose order and discipline to a world in crisis.

The current American military thinking both distinguishes and relates internal conflicts with the strategic rivalry of the superpowers, seeking to determine when both phenomena would coincide in any area of crisis (e.g. Middle East); the USA defines its own national security within a global context and with different military options according to the threat, the type of crisis and the situations.

In the USSR the situation is different. It is not a power with a worldwide scope. Because of its geographic characteristics, its security is defined more as that of its geographic boundaries. The Warsaw Pact is a defence mechanism that would impede a

conventional aggression against the Soviet Union, from Europe. In addition to this, since the 1960's, protection is foreseen to certain allied countries like Cuba, Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola and Ethiopia. The invasion of Afghanistan is an outcome of such defence-boundary logic as well as the seclusion and confinement psychosis, after the USA-China approximation. The main danger is perceived in what effects the American policy can have in regard to the Soviet military establishment and in destabilizing the countries of the Warsaw Pact. The USSR thus tends to take actions parallel to those of the USA.

The predominating concept of security of both superpowers, the proscription of distension, and the revival of a new version of the Cold War, condition the evolution of the international system as a whole. While a new Yalta seems out of question, one cannot deny that the influence of the USA, as well as that of the USSR, are significant. Up to now there has been a growing spiral of mutual accusations accompanied by diplomatic and military activities that only worsen the tensions. According to recent Soviet declarations, the USSR would not be favourably disposed to accept any theatre of battle selected by the USA for a limited nuclear war. This could mean that in the hypothetical case of an American attack against any Third World country, perhaps with a "demonstrative" use of atomic weapons, the Soviet Union might well counter by attacking another zone. This is one more reason why the whole thesis of limited nuclear war is so dangerously fragile : a general conflagration would almost fatally originate from any local conflict.

A new dimension in security

Everything said above leads us to postulate the need to overcome current concepts of national security. Security is one of the values of social life but it cannot be absolutized. An elaboration of a new concept of security would signify :

- (a) the considering of it within the system of Universal Human Rights both on the level of States as well as that of international and non-governmental organizations, elaborated within the framework of principles and values, ethical and legal, recognized by the international community. Human rights relate to :
- i) the scope of State authority in the international community, according to the principles of self-determination of nations, of non-intervention and of control over natural resources;
 - ii) the organization of political authority within each State according to the principles of active participation by sovereign people;
 - iii) certain limitations to practice power to safeguard individual liberties and civil rights;
 - iv) obligations of authorities to implement the basic necessities of the population (economic, social and cultural rights) and to promote international co-operation, peace and development. ¹²

Security must be conceived in a way that it will not make those principles of international law illusory. International security and peace are to be linked with principles of international law, as the security of each State must be linked with full respect of the human rights of all its inhabitants. Security at the same time is to supply the very framework within which human rights can be implemented.

- (b) Emphasis on the globality of elements which compose security, with special accent on the great challenges humanity faces today : hunger, scarcity of non-renewable

resources, demographic explosion, environmental contamination, energy problems, etc. Militarization is the wrong answer to injustice and the imbalances that affect today's civilization. Security cannot disregard the fact that millions of persons die every year of hunger and not through wars. It is necessary to convert the structures of production which today concentrate material and human resources to manufacture arms, back to the output of goods needed for the satisfaction of basic necessities. Underdevelopment exists and grows in the context of an increasingly militarized world economy. According to a document presented by a group of UN experts reporting in 1978 to the Assembly on Disarmament and Development as well as the Brandt Commission's Report the current tendencies need to be sharply changed and overcome. The same position is taken in a recent document of the UN on this issue.¹³

- (c) Security must be conceived in the perspective of controlling the arms race and promoting disarmament. Current technological dynamics of production of armaments has become virtually autonomous, escaping all political control : arms are produced to be used in time spans that vary between 5 to 10 years, requiring substantial inversions. This process undermines all democratic conceptions of security, which presuppose decisions made by sovereign and representative bodies of a State. Peace will not generate from any balance of (nuclear) terror. Today it subsists notwithstanding the arms race.
- (d) Present processes of transnationalization which make crises within any State objects of international life need to be squarely faced. Thence, security needs to be conceived globally : for individuals, social groups, regions, States, geographic areas and, finally, humanity at large. We must learn to see security in terms of interrelated complexities and not be deluded into thinking that it depends on simplistic power balances between States in terms of Europe of the 19th century. Multinationals, for example, are an important element in any concept of security. They no longer can continue on the margin of law. Transnationalization has become an irreversible fact. The problem is how to guide and control it. The articulation of a security system at different levels presupposes the need of radical developments in the UN system, the creation of super-national mechanisms and, finally, the coming about of new forms of international control, capable of peaceful resolution of conflicts.
- (e) A radical revision of military alliances, with the aim to overcome the present bipolarity of politico-military power blocks is called for as well. For the Third World it is important to define and implement mechanisms for neutrality, areas of peace and denuclearization, etc. Only then, the East-West tension will not be artificially injected into the "South".

The State is not the object of law and therefore cannot be the subject of security. Security is to be firmly linked to the concept of peace and needs to be articulated on at least three levels : individual, State and International Community. Lately, the concept of people is emerging as the object of international law. This irruption, stemming from what has been called the "third generation of human rights" (right to development, to peace, etc.) imposes a final reconsideration of the whole concept of security.

Notes :

- 1 Masao Maruyamana, a leading political scientist in post-war Japan, in *Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics* defines "militarism" as : "A type of thought or behaviour which gives the highest priority to the system of and preparation for war semipermanently, and which subordinates all other areas of the people's life — such as politics, economics, education, culture and so forth — to the military value in a society or country" quoted by Hiroharu Seki, *Global Militarization and its Remedy*, University of UN, Japan 1979. About the concept of militarism see also *The Security Trap*, IDOC, Rome 1979 and *Problems of Contemporary Militarism*, edited by Asbjorn Eide and Marek Thee, Croom Helm, London 1980.
- 2 Government of Japan, *Report on Comprehensive National Security*, 1980.
- 3 Takashy Irogushi, *Political Security : Towards its Broad Conceptualization*, Japan 1981.
- 4 Hernán Montealegre, *La Seguridad del Estado y los Derechos Humanos*, Edición Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, Santiago de Chile 1979, p. 7.
- 5 J. Comblin, *La Seguridad Nacional y el Poder Militar en América Latina*, quoted by A. Varas, *Foreign Policy and National Security Doctrines*, FLACSO, Chile 1980.
- 6 L. Brezhnev, *The October Revolution and the Human Progress*, Moscow 1977.
- 7 General S. Tiushkevich, *Causas y Orígenes de las Guerras*, Revista Militar Soviética No. 10, Moscow 1981.
- 8 Speech of General Videla published by La Nación, 13.5.1976, Buenos Aires.
- 9 Speech of Coronel Hugo Ildefonso Pancarelli quoted in *L'Argentine sous la botte*, Le Monde Diplomatique, January 1977.
- 10 Golbery do Couto e Silva, *Geopolítica de Brasil*, Livraria José Olympio Editora, Rio de Janeiro 1957 and 1967.
- 11 Julio Silva Solar, *El integrismo católico-fascista en la ideología de la Junata Militar*, Chile-América supplement Vol. 2 No. 1, Rome 1975.
- 12 A. Eide, *Constructing a Thesaurus for the Human Rights System*, and *Seminar on the Relations that exist between Human Rights, Peace and Development*, New York 3-14 August 1981.
- 13 *Development and the International Economic Cooperation, Study on the relationship between disarmament and development*, UN, October 1981.

CASE STUDY I: HUMAN RIGHTS, MILITARIZATION AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

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I. The Current Situation

1. The myth of the compassionate society

Human rights in the Philippines is non-existent. This is a reality that no claims the incumbent Marcos administration dishes out about the "compassionate society" can effectively disprove.

Only recently, the Philippine national dailies screamed with headlines about the massacre of 35 peasants in the barrio of Sag-od, Las Navas, Northern Samar in Eastern Visayas, purportedly by members of the communist-led New People's Army (NPA).

Investigations made by justice and peace groups in the region, however, have resulted in another, more disturbing version: the Sag-od massacre was a handiwork of the Marcos administration's armed forces, the Special Forces and the Integrated Civilian Home Defence Force in particular.

According to a report by the Samar-based People's Committee for Justice and Human Rights (KKHK-Samar), there were actually 45 peasants who perished in the Sag-od massacre. These constituted the bulk of the entire barrio's (village) population.

The report, which was based on interviews with survivors (among them 13 children who gave eyewitness accounts), said that the barrio residents, men, women, children, young and old alike, were all called to a meeting by elements of a combined SF-ICHDF force on the morning of September 15, 1981. Assembled, they were then divided into two groups. One, composing the menfolk were lined up inside the barrio while the other, composing of the women and children, was marched off to a forested area a kilometre away.

Thereafter, a brutal massacre ensued. SF-ICHDF elements strafed their captives until all were apparently dead. A few, however, managed to survive somehow. One, a woman named Rita and her two children, managed to get back to the barrio where they were met by the same gory scene which they left where the women and children,

including some infants who still sucked at their mother's breasts, lay dead. The whole place was drenched with the blood of the barrio's menfolk whose corpses lay piled on top of each other.

At present, the barrio of Sag-od, Las Navas remains a "no man's land" on the declaration of the same SF-ICHDF men and their commanding officer who perpetrated the brutal massacre. SF-ICHDF elements (reportedly on payroll of the San Jose Timber Corp., a big logging firm within the concession area of which Bo. Sag-od is located) guard the barrio's perimeter preventing, on pain of outright shooting, the entry of peasant-residents who want to return to their homes or of anymore investigating teams such as that fielded by the KKHK.

The Sag-od massacre toplists, if only in terms of intense brutality, the more recent cases of grave human rights abuses committed by the military against civilians in the Philippines. It is part of a long list of military crimes that the Marcos administration has condoned, even tacitly approve of officially, throughout all the years since it first came to power in 1965. (The Marcos administration has, for instance, already considered the Sag-od massacre a "closed case".) It highlights the increasing trend of militarization that the Marcos administration is now engulfing the entire country.

2. The growing trend of militarization

The Philippines is fast becoming a country where the cheapest commodity available is human life. In June 1981, the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFD), a church-based human rights group, reported a sharp increase in the number of persons "salvaged" or summarily executed for various reasons, mostly political. Since January 1981, the TFD said, a total of 110 persons have already been salvaged nationwide. It was further noted that the figure indicates a high incidence considering that, between 1975-1980, only a total of 502 cases of salvaged persons were reported.

Evidence (culled mainly from testimonies of survivors, affidavits of the relatives of victims, in-depth justice and peace reports, etc.), in many of these cases, categorically points, even by name, to members of the armed forces, including the Philippine Constabulary (PC), the Integrated National Police (INP), and such paramilitary groups as the ICHDF, as perpetrators.

Militarization, manifested mainly in acts of violence against civilians (though it has also taken the form of coercion to conformity by state legislation), has had its most telling effects on the peasants in the countryside where majority of the Filipino people live.

Pacification campaigns, ironically termed by the Philippine military as "peace drives", are now being simultaneously conducted in many parts of the country, leaving in their wake all concomitant horrors such as mass arrests and detention, torture, salvagings, mass evacuation, open massacres, rape, looting and arson particularly during raids, zoning operations, and other military incursions into small barrios and isolated communities.

There are now at least 13 regions and provinces in the Philippines which are heavily militarized. These are the Cagayan Valley in Northern Luzon, particularly the provinces of Kalinga-apayao, Isabela and Abra, Ilocos Sur, Bataan, Zambales, Central Luzon, Laguna in Southern Luzon, Bicol, the islands of Samar, Panay and Bohol in the Visayas and the entire southern island of Mindanao.

The Marcos administration has categorized these regions and provinces as “rebel-infested”, thereby justifying its heavy concentration of troops there. In Mindanao alone, 60% of the Philippine Army (PA) continue to fight a 10-year old pacification campaign against Muslim Filipinos struggling for political self-determination through the Moro National Liberation Front-Bangsa Moro Army (MNLF-BMA). The growing influence of the NPA in many other areas, including Mindanao, during the more recent years, has likewise prompted the Marcos administration to field more counterinsurgency troops.

The vicious cycle thus remains : more troops, more military atrocities against civilians. Meanwhile, not even a single, verified NPA or MNLF-BMA insurgent has been apprehended.

That the Marcos administration is, through its armed forces, currently waging a searing war of attrition against the Filipino citizenry is a reality that has failed to escape the comprehension of human rights advocates and justice and peace groups, including church-based institutions and organizations, in the country.

The question, however, remains : WHY ? !

To answer this, it is best that we first take a look at the socio-economic and political set-up that now exists in the Philippines, considering it against the backdrop of forces that helped shape it and the priorities that the incumbent Marcos administration is pursuing to maintain its continuance.

II. Militarization and Underdevelopment : The Present Philippine Socio-Economic and Political Reality

1. The Filipinos : Rich men, poor men

The Philippines is a rich country. For centuries, this “Pearl of the Orient Seas” caught the eye of many a foreign trader, mainly because of its abundant natural wealth. Historical reports bear out the fact that the Philippines conducted many an honest trade with its Asian neighbours long before the age of European colonization reached its shores.

Today, the Philippines remain just that — a country rich in natural resources. An economic anomaly, however, has emerged, no doubt a legacy of its colonial past. While the country has remained rich per se, the Filipino people have become progressively poor.

Inflation, mainly imported from the country’s major trading partners, the US and Japan in particular, continues to ravage the national economy. Statistics made available by the Central Bank as of January 1981 show that the average rate of inflation in the country stood at between 17% and 24% annually.

Inflation has combined with the sustained devaluation of the peso, further eroding the Filipino workingman’s income, the level of which had already declined by over 40% since 1972. As of the first quarter of 1981, the purchasing power of the peso (ppp) was pegged at peso 0.31 (base year 1972 = peso 1.00) at constant 1972 prices.

As a result, the Marcos administration’s attempts at improving the economic lot of Filipino workers by upgrading their wage scales has proven futile.

Early 1981, the Marcos administration implemented a tripartite agreement raising the minimum wage of agricultural workers, on the one hand, to pesos 26.20 a day. The wages of non-agricultural workers, on the other hand, were raised to a little over pesos 30.00 a day.

On the surface, the present minimum wage levels are way over pre-1972 wages which were pegged at pesos 8.00 at the lowest. In real terms, however, the present minimum wages amount almost to nothing, given inflation and the much devaluated peso. Thus, agricultural workers today take home pays which are actually valued at only pesos 8.12. The same holds true for non-agricultural workers.

Given the low wages, more and more Filipino breadwinners are finding it hard to provide effective sustenance to their families. Latest estimates show that 85% of Filipino families are now living below the poverty line.

2. The forces of underdevelopment

Poverty and deprivation is not a surprising phenomenon in a rich but underdeveloped country like the Philippines. There are forces of underdevelopment, legacies of the colonial past, which today persist in sucking at the Philippine economy's lifeblood.

Foremost among these forces are foreign investments, manifested mainly in the form of US-led multinational corporations (MNCs). Though in more subtler ways this time, these alien investors have subjected the country to practically the same type of domination that Spanish and early American colonizers have applied for three hundred and fifty years.

Foreign domination of the Philippines today is mainly reflected in the control of the national economy by multinational investors who now account for 80% of the country's total trade and commerce. The situation continues to be much the same as during the era of free trade and quota system under the American colonial regime when the Philippines was both a source of inexpensive raw materials and a market for highly priced finished products. The following figures will bear this out.

TABLE I

**Top Ten Exports and Imports,
by Value and % Distribution, 1979 (a)**

Top 10 Exports ¹		Top 10 Imports ²	
Value	% Distribution	Value	% Distribution
2,462	53.5	4,707	76.6

(a) Justice and Peace Report quoting Central Bank sources.

1. Consisting mainly of low-earning raw and semi-processed materials such as coconut oil, copper concentrates, etc.
2. Consisting mainly of processed/finished products as machineries and transport equipment, mineral fuels, etc.

With economic control in their hands, multinational investors have proceeded in elbowing out Filipino entrepreneurs from the strategic industries of their own country. In 1978 alone, the overall investment picture showed the domination of American multinationals in such strategic industries as petroleum exploration and refinery, food processing, drugs and pharmaceutical compounding, packaging, coconut processing and tire and inner tube manufacturing.

Japanese multinationals, on the other hand, maintained economic enclaves in the motorcycle business and in iron ore processing while complementing US investments in such fields as mining, coconut oil processing, textile and garment manufacturing, electrical appliances, automobiles and financing.

In all these industries, multinationals continue to reap tremendous profits which have averaged at US\$ 5.00 for every dollar invested in the country. As if this were not enough, multinationals heavily rely on local funds to finance their profit-making ventures. This situation continues to this day when multinationals borrow local capital at a rate of US\$ 10.00 for every dollar invested.

This business tactic has favoured alien investors with more profits. In 1978, multinational corporations, including local firms with foreign equity, obtained 54.9% of the total net income of the country's top 1,000 corporations.

3. The collaborators

The economic control of the Philippines has been made possible only through the existence of a political order pliant to the wishes of foreign vested interests. This is an arrangement that dates back to the country's colonial past. During the Spanish regime, members of the native elite, the "ilustrados", acted as the principal collaborators of the colonizers in the rape of the country and the subjugation of its people. Under the Americans, these same "ilustrados", otherwise known as the "principalia", occupied important positions in the colonial government, facilitating further the continued plunder of the country by foreigners.

Today, US economic hegemony has found a reliable ally in the Marcos administration in much the same way the Spanish and early American colonizers found use of the native elite in the realization of their interests. This is evidenced by the policies and priorities stipulated by the Marcos administration for the economic development of the country.

In accordance with the dictates of such US-dominated economic institutions as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) (which has plunged the country into an impossible debt-trap now nearing the US\$ 15 billion mark making it possible for such institutions to resort to economic blackmail), the Marcos administration has, since its inception in 1965, relentlessly pursued an economic development heavily reliant on foreign investments. It has passed such laws as the Investment Incentives Act (IIA) providing foreign investors with a conducive economic environment to operate in.

And in the wake of the Filipino people's growing opposition to continued foreign economic exploitation, the Marcos administration has instituted measures guaranteeing a stable political climate to safeguard foreign investments in the country. Foremost among such measures were the establishment of the so-called New Society and the New Republic, the mechanisms by which foreign investments has been allowed to multiply further and consolidate through a system of institutionalized authoritarianism.

4. The new society : Laying down the foundations of multinational expansionism

The establishment of the New Society upon the declaration of Martial Law in 1972 preceeded a period of immense social upheaval in the Philippines. A broad nationalist movement militantly against foreign economic domination and the Marcos administration's subservience to foreign vested interests was on the surge. Actively involved were students, workers, peasants, intellectuals and other sectors of Philippine society which closed ranks to struggle against what was tagged as "the US imperialist grip of the economy" and its adverse effects on the Filipino people. Hundreds of thousands of people conducted numerous strikes, boycotts and demonstrations in the cities.

As a result of these militant protest actions, including the birth of armed opposition in the countryside, foreign investments in the country became threatened. Foreign big business were losing millions of pesos due to the waves of strikes and pickets by workers. The influx of foreign capital into the country amounting to US\$ 105.71 million in 1968 consequently dropped to US\$ 31.6 million in 1972.

The declaration of Martial Law came as a timely relief for multinational investors. With the nationalist movement cut short by military rule and the majority of the Filipino people temporarily appeased by the promises of socio-economic restructuring under the New Society, foreign investments began perking up anew. By 1979, the level of foreign investments had reached US\$ 1.17 billion following an initial peak achieved in 1976 at US\$ 573.8 million which was already 23 times over the 1970 level of US\$ 25.1 million.

The Marcos administration has been explicit about its regard for foreign investments as the purveyors of economic growth in the country. Barely a month after the declaration of Martial Law, it was already assuring foreign investors that they will have an assured place in the New Society. On October 9, 1972, President Marcos, in an interview with the US News and World Report, said :

"We're interested in all forms of capital and I would like to emphasize two things : we will offer as much incentives as possible and foreign capital will be protected. Such things as the amortization of investments, retirement of capital and the transmittal of profits will be guaranteed."

While foreign investors came to be pampered under the New Society, the Filipino people were left wanting of the boons that the Marcos administration's romance with multinational investments was supposed to achieve.

Even the promised socio-economic restructuring — via a programme of so-called PLEDGES : peace and order, land reform, economic development, development of moral values, government reforms, educational reforms, social services — failed to be delivered. These PLEDGES, at best, only achieved the further entrenchment of foreign interests in the national economy.

Land reform, for one, is a dismal failure. After more than eight years of implementation, this so-called “corner-stone of the New Society” has benefitted a measly .00022% of the total number of tenant-farmers it was supposed to “emancipate from the bondage of the land”. Moreover, land reform has only served to further worsen the already inequitable land relations in the countryside with the introduction of foreign capital in the once exclusive domain of the feudal landlord.

The promised economic development has meant, at the most, the further widening of the gap between the rich and the poor. Development of moral values has produced a Filipino culture which has propagated the values of non-critical thinking and subservience as necessary attitudes in nationbuilding. This, in turn, has produced a timid and emasculated citizenry. Government reforms merely reshuffled political power blocks and only narrowed down the administrative control of the country to a smaller number of political elite. Educational reforms merely achieved the further commercialization of Philippine education making it more and more inaccessible to an increasing number of Filipino youth. Social services has likewise become ever more a dream for the majority of the Filipino people. A greater share of the national budget has and still is being channelled to priorities other than social services such as national defence. The budget for medical services, for instance, has been such that, in 1974, only one physician was servicing 3,224 Filipinos while only one hospital bed was available for every 958 patients. In 1980, the budget of the Ministry of Health stood at pesos 1.4 billion. In 1981, it was slashed down to only pesos 1.1 billion. In contrast, the budget for national defence grew from pesos 5.68 billion in 1980 to pesos 7.1 billion in 1981.

In an article published on September 18, 1980, the *Philippine Collegian*, official organ of the University of the Philippines, said :

“After (more than) eight years... the New Society only widened the cleavage between men occupying the seat of power and the million of toiling masses... (has) paved the way for the unremitting onslaught of giant corporations, sending the nation deeper into the powerful grip of global capitalism... However,... militant protest actions continue to gain strength. As the New Society passes... the status quo is facing a stonger and more formidable challenge from the disenchanting masses. The ominous dark cloud is rapidly creeping into the chambers of power as the political unity among various sectors of our society is gradually emerging.”

Indeed, conditions were such that the Marcos administration found it necessary to institute a new set of measures designed to preempt the growing discontent of the Filipino people, a discontent more threatening than that which manifested itself during the premartial law “day of rage”.

5. The New Republic : Consolidation of multinational control

On January 17, 1981, the Marcos administration officially terminated Martial Law, setting forth a programme of normalization for the country. The normalization scheme feature mainly a plebiscite and presidential election last April and June, respectively. (The Philippine opposition called for a general boycott of these political exercises which it tagged as “circuses”.) After blatantly rigging these political exercises and securing a “fresh mandate” by massive fraud, the Marcos administration extended and legitimized its dictatorship over the Filipino people. On June 30, 1981, it proclaimed the birth of the so-called New Republic.

Like the New Society that preceded it, the New Republic is nothing more than another carefully crafted measure designed to maintain the present status quo and to assure the continuance and the unhampered plunder of the national economy by foreign big business concerns. It is a new addition to the long list of politico-economic dictates that the IMF-WB has imposed on the Filipino people through its main implementor, the Marcos administration. As Renato Constantino, UP professor, and eminent social critic, puts it : “The New Republic is the culmination of US-World Bank-IMF efforts started in 1962 and reinforced and consolidated by the declaration of Martial Law to promote a Philippine economy characterized by export orientation, transnational domination and dependent industrialization.”

The New Republic as a product of IMF-WB dictates is a reality corroborated by a report submitted to these US-dominated economic institutions on “the political and administrative bases of the economic policy in the Philippines.”

The report prepared by Professor William Ascher of the John Hopkins University, categorically pointed out the growing political instability of the Marcos administration and the concomittant liabilities that could arise and prove inimical to multinational interests in the Philippines. It then suggested that the Marcos administration refrain from any further use of coercive power such as direct military rule and continue managing the Philippine economy through the “maintenance of a democratic facade.” Thus, the lifting of Martial Law and the consequent normalization scheme that led to the proclamation of the New Republic.

In the following section, we shall see how the Marcos administration, enjoying obvious US military support, is currently “handling the situation” under the aegis of the New Republic.

III. Intensification of Militarization and the Role of the United States

The weakness of the present regime is manifested in the strengthening of its military power. Since the early 1970's, the people stood witness to a deteriorating political system. It was during this period that the forces moving within the society were clearly distinguished. The line was drawn between those who are defending the status quo, the colonial and feudal Philippine society, and those who are struggling for genuine national independence and democracy.

Advocates of the old system could no longer make use of its machinery to defend the deteriorating system nor appease the growing unrest among the people. In a desperate attempt, the present regime resorted to coercion and violence particularly through the military. Thus, the birth of Martial Rule in the Philippines.

The imposition of Martial Law in the country did not serve to solve the problem confronting the people. The country remained under feudal exploitation and foreign domination, the very causes of the political upheaval in the country. Instead, the use of military violence became the catalyst for further polarization.

1. Military : The pillar of support

The present regime ascribes to the use of military force as the principal means to contain and stop any form of unrest. To defend “National Security” has become a matter of national priority. Thus, the cycle of unrest-militarization-further unrest-further militarization exists.

The government moved to expand its military forces, modernize its weapons, create paramilitary units and militarize civilians. In 1972, the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) numbered a total of 62,000. By 1980, the armed forces including paramilitary units had increased to 191,300. A 1979 official government statistics report shows that 992,702 officers and enlisted men comprise the reserve force that may be mobilized when so desired. There is a plan to station a full military battalion, the Civilian Guard Battalion, in every province of the country. Paramilitary units were formed, namely, the Integrated Civil Home Defence Force (ICHDF) and the Crowd Dispersal Units (CDU). Even the police has been reconstituted to the Integrated National Police (INP), to respond to the command of the armed forces. All these are part of the regime's militarization policy. ¹

National security as top national priority led to a drain in the national budget. From 1972 to 1980, the proportion of the rise in the defence budget is much higher than the rise in the daily minimum wage of labour and the rise in Gross National Products (GNP).

Comparing Tables II and IV would show the expansion of the military budget while the labour sector continued to face the downfall of wages, during the martial law years. After reading tables II and IV, one can easily see that budget allocations for other government projects and services suffered cutdowns.

TABLE II

Budget of the Defence Ministry

Year	Budget in Million Pesos	% Change
1972	682	—
1973	1,297	90%
1974	1,788	37.8%
1975	3,847	115.16%
1976	3,904	1.43%
1977	4,700	20.39%
1978	4,681	0.404%
1979	4,869	4.02%
1980	5,683	16.7%

Source : *Ministry of Budget Report*

TABLE III**Gross National Product (at constant 1972 prices)**

Year	GNP in Million Pesos	% Change
1972	55,526	—
1973	60,881	9.6%
1974	64,739	6.3%
1975	68,530	5.9%
1976	73,341	7.0%
1977	77,958	6.3%
1978	82,477	5.8%
1979	86,731	5.1%

Source : *NEDA***TABLE IV****Minimum Wages of Labour**

Year	Money Wage (in Pesos)	% Change	Real Wage (in Pesos)	% Change
1972	8.00	—	8.00	—
1973	8.00	0	7.02	
1974	8.00	0	5.26	
1975	8.00	0	4.86	
1976	8.00	0	4.57	
1977	10.00	25%	5.30	
1978	10.00	0	4.93	
1979	13.00	33.33%	4.81	

Source : *NEDA* — Base year 1972**2. US support : for whom ?**

Under the US security assistance, the Philippines receives a substantial amount of military aid from the United States, in spite of the already existing national budget allocation. During the period between 1969-1972, military aid to the Philippines averaged at US\$ 20 million per annum. The amount grew in the years following the declaration of Martial Law, an average of over US\$ 40 million per annum or an increase of over 106% annually from 1972-1976. ²

TABLE V**Official US Military Assistance to RP**

Year	Amount in Million Dollars
1969	30.6
1970	18.2
1971	23.5
1972	18.5
1973	45.3
1974	41.2
1975	36.8
1976	43.0
1977	43.2
1978	37.3
1979	31.8

Sources : *Walden Bello and Severina Rivera, THE LOGISTICS OF REPRESSION and INTERNATIONAL POLICY REPORT, October 1979.*

US military assistance consists of arms, equipment, training and military advisers. All these are classified under the Military Assistance Programme (MAP), International Military Education and Training (IMET), Excess Defence Articles (EDA), Ship Transfer, Foreign Military Sales (FMS) credits/cash and others.

Other channels for military aid were also established. Such aids were coursed through non-military channels like the National Narcotics Control and the AID Public Safety Assistance. It also includes aid which does not require the approval of the US Congress, such as the redistributed MAP and PL 480 Common Defence Funds. Redistributed MAP means the transfer of equipment from one MAP recipient to another once the original recipient no longer has use for it. PL 480 Common Defence Funds cover military and police goods bought by foreign countries using money from PL 480 (Food or Peace) sales. ³

3. RP-US military relations : a one-way relationship

RP-US military relations are embodied by three agreements, namely :

1. US-RP Military Bases Agreement of 1947 — affected by the United States and meant extra-territorial control of close to 200,000 hectares of Philippine soil. This also entails extra-territorial rights to US servicemen in the Philippines.
2. Mutual Defence Treaty of 1951 — a formal recognition of US intervention in Philippine internal affairs. Control of the Philippine military is given to the US and done through agencies like the Joint US Military Advisory Group (JUSMAG).

3. **Military Assistance Pact of 1947** — makes the Armed Forces of the Philippines virtually a mercenary armed force of the US. Millions of US dollars are loaned to the Philippine military in the forms of arms, equipments and other logistics and training.

From the agreements of both countries, it may be seen that benefits travel only a one-way course. The presence of US bases in the country represent the neocolonial status of the Philippines under the US. Aside from this, they serve as magnets for attacks from countries hostile to the US, as well as, maneuvering grounds of aggression by the US against the other Asian countries. Through advisory agencies, Philippine military personnel are trained and oriented in the American way, thus forming sentiments geared towards serving the colonial masters.

Coupled with this is the constant propaganda by the US and by the local regime of the internal subversion and communist threat to the country. This is used to justify the continued presence of the US bases in the country and the military support to the Marcos regime. All these are part of the scheme to maintain the colonial status of the Philippines under the United States.

IV. The People's Response :

The Filipino people have a long and brave history of struggle, and indeed, the revolution of 1896 could have triumphed were it not for the intervention of the United States. From that time until 1946, the Philippines was directly under American rule, but in 1946, nominal independence was granted; nominal because it is evident that US influence and control grew even stronger since then. Philippine culture has been greatly "Americanized". Economic, political and military programmes have been manipulated to serve their interests in the guise of plans for Philippine progress.

But the Filipino people could not be deceived any longer. Through the 60's there was a growing awakening among the different strata of the society. Workers' strikes, students' marches and rallies, sectoral seminars and symposia, peasants' resistance to land grabbing and the growing support to the NPA all these were taken under the pretext of a "communist threat to the country" and thus, Martial Law was declared in 1972. Thousands were arrested and there was an eerie lull in the struggle, thus the start of a fuller reign of colonial dictatorship and the application of repressive tactics against the Filipino people.

Workers :

All strikes were banned under General Order No. 5 but in May 1975, a new workers' alliance staged a mass protest where 505 workers were arrested and taken to Fort Bonifacio. The Marcos government then issued PD 823, a total strike ban which also forbade any form of foreign support to workers' movements thus limiting concerned missionaries and other foreign church and middle force groups from supporting such moves. In spite of all these, a total of 40,000 workers participated in a series of strikes in 1975. At the Luneta Park, 20,000 workers staged a strike on May 1, 1976. The KMU (May 1 Movement) led a field of genuine unions in a rally of 40,000 workers on May 1, 1981. The Filipino working class continues to bring forth new forms of organizations and struggles in their fight against low wages, layoffs, high quotas, reduced benefits, suffocating and hazardous working conditions. They have had enough of the Marcos regime and would not any more tolerate the new impositions upon them such as the Cabinet Bill 45 which creates more restrictions than privileges, which facilitates more arrests than job opportunities, which profits the capitalists rather than the workers.

Peasants :

For the peasants, Marcos regime meant nothing more than a worsening economic condition. While President Marcos proudly proclaims that Land Reform “gives the farmers the chance to own lands and to have more produce”, our peasantry have only been cast deeper into debt and consequently, lost their small lands. Such government programmes as Masagana 99, Samahang Nayan, etc. suggest and require the use of “modern tools and fertilizers” to benefit other export oriented industries. Landgrabbing for the use of multinational corporations is another big problem faced by our farmers. Del Monte and Dole Corporations in Mindanao have planted the people’s land with their banana and pineapple and the Filipinos working in the plantation suffer from very oppressive working conditions. Cellophil Corporation is another Corporation worth mentioning for taking the land from the Tinguians for timber production.

But the farmers are not just meekly accepting this. All over the Philippines they are forming cooperatives and in some organized areas, they have banded together to demand lower land rent and more share in the produce. In many areas, farmers openly and fully support the New People’s Army. As one churchman in Samar put it, “at last, the people feel that they really have an army which is theirs and which will truly defend them...”

One example of the peasant response to oppression and militarization is the “ANCAR struggle” in Isabela. This is the case of the 11,000 hectares to be converted into a coconut plantation of Cojuangco. The farmers believe that the land virtually belongs to them by the contract with the Spaniards in 1898, and they are determined to stand for their right. The people’s opposition are met with harrassment; armed men all over the place, bulldozing of their crops, killings, arrests and detention without charges, burning of houses and harvests, threats and repression to support groups. Nevertheless, the farmers are determined to stay.

Resistance is certainly growing among the peasantry who are bearing much of the brunt of the brutality of the regime. They have the greatest number of arrests, deaths, tortures.

Urban Poor :

The struggle of the urban poor, who comprise 1/3 of Manila’s population, should be a point of hope for people of the Third World. The struggle of Manila slum dwellers to retain their houses in the city has become world famous. They are being relocated outside the city which would mean more transportation and food expenses and lesser opportunities for jobs. Filipinos cry, “Why are we squatters in our own land ?” The demands of the urban poor seem to be fourfold :

1. nationalization of basic industries and the implementation of a genuine land reform;
2. stop demolition and implement genuine human settlements for the urban poor;
3. provide justly compensated jobs/employments for the working population among the urban poor;
4. lower the prices of prime commodities.

In 1979, a federation for Metro Manila Urban Poor was formed but was reportedly

infiltrated and so was disbanded. At present, the urban poor are regrouping into an organization called "Pamalo" meaning "a whip". The urban poor will certainly have no battle as the government is determined to remove all squatter settlements "within sight" because they are an eyesore to tourists.

Youth and Students :

The students were a very important force in the pre-martial law era and many of today's leaders were awakened that time. The government is very fearful of the power of the students which have been steadily re-emerging in the last few years. In 1979-80, student leaders, like that of the newly formed League of Filipino Students, were arrested and detained for subversion for simply discussing national issues which the students face. Recently in Baguio, some 30,000 students demonstrated in the city; in Mindanao, helicopters were used to disperse demonstrators. In Metro Manila, around 10,000 students rallied sometime in September 1981. Some planned demonstrations were aborted when military threats seemed great. Shields and truncheons are used on the students. But in the media, the government always manages to appear as a benevolent father who understands the difficulties and discontent of his children, cautioning them not to be led astray by "subversives" and seeking fatherly talks with student leaders. This is a clear example of how subtle the regime works. But inspite of all the subtle ways and even the threats of suspension, the tide will rise.

Church :

As in most countries, the position of the church is a complex one. The church came with the Spanish colonizers and has later served the American interests by individualizing the Gospel. But today, many people within the church are becoming increasingly aware and are standing up for the people's rights. There are groups for liberation such as Protestants for People's Enlightenment and Liberation (PROPEL), the ecumenical Christians for National Liberation (CNL) and many other organizations. Politically, church people range from those who are supportive of the institutions and of Marcos to those priests who have joined the New People's Army. Christians are now risking their lives, at all levels of involvement in the movement, and are being victimized accordingly. Sometimes they have shown extraordinary creativity and solidarity as in Samar in 1979. When Fr. Jun Cardenas was arrested and detained, all the churches of Samar refused to hold mass... on Christmas Day. Such was the impact of this case that the military never dared to arrest any clergy in Samar, even if they openly side with the people.

A new theology is arising which stresses that it is in listening to the aspirations of the common people and being one in their struggle that Christian commitment can find incarnation, and thus, members of the church are slowly trying, painfully sometimes, to stand up and see the realization of the Kingdom of Justice and Liberation of the People of God.

Synthesis :

The existing social conditions in the Philippine society today clearly show the ever-widening gap between the few powerful rich and the vast majority of the poor and exploited :

1. the farmers who have no land and those who are forcibly driven off their means of livelihood because big landlords and corporations seek the profit of their lands;

2. the underpaid workers who create the world's goods but are deprived of their right to form unions — the only channel through which they can uphold and express their interests and protect themselves against capitalists' abuse and exploitations;
3. the urban poor who are constantly haunted by eviction and yet are not given appropriate allocations for home and land;
4. tribal minorities who are driven off their ancestral lands to make way for government projects that only benefit local and foreign big corporations;
5. women who are degraded to make way for fun-loving foreigners;
6. students who are buried under regimented educational systems that serve to form values which only strengthen the existing oppressive system;
7. progressive religious leaders who are committed to uphold people's rights and welfare but are fettered by realities of harrassments and outright restrictions.

Their situations are evidences of the struggle the people have to face as they move against the interests of the rich and powerful. The response of the people, generally speaking, is no longer one of passivity but one of activity.

There are growing and intensifying protest movements among the broad masses of the Filipino people. The people have gained an offensive strategy as exemplified by :

1. the increasing armed struggle and resistance in the countryside, spearheaded by the NPA;
2. the advancement of protest movements to in the urban centres, like those of Labour Day mass rallies;
3. sectors organizing themselves into alliances.

In a desperate attempt to cut down the increasing support the protest movements are acquiring, the New Republic has turned on its repressive machinery. Terrifying patterns and trends of militarization are evidence in the various areas of the country, especially where the interests of the rich and the powerful exist. Such patterns of terror are seen in the continuous escalation of military atrocities, deployment of military forces in the rural areas and the intensification of military harrassment.

But the increasing brunt of militarization has not served to halt the move of the people. It has actually made the people move even more militantly against the regime's tactics.

Notes :

1. *Justice and Peace Report*, People's Committee on Justice and Human Rights — Samar (KKHK-Samar).
2. *A Political and Economic Crisis*, Breakthrough Special Issue, First Quarter, 1981, pp. 4-6.

3. *When PLEDGES Are Made To Be Broken : An Assessment of Eight Years of the New Society*, Philippine Collegian, September 18, 1980 issue, p. 5.
4. *NASA Situationer*, First Quarter, 1981 issues.
5. *After Eight Years of Martial Law*, a Justice and Peace Report.
6. *Militarization : a Double-Edged Sword of Repression*, position paper of the Makabayang Kilusan para Isulong Ang Katarungan (Nationalist Movement for the Advancement of Justice) — (MAKIISAKA), October 21, 1981.
7. *Militance and Unity : The Key to the Survival of the Filipino Consumers*, position paper of the Consumer's Coalition of the Philippines, October 26, 1981.
8. *The World Bank's Trojan Horses*, Renato Constantino, Far Eastern Economic Review, August 14, 1981 issue, p. 39.

CASE STUDY II: MILITARISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN PUERTO RICO

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1. Introduction

I consider it very appropriate that the cases of the Philippines and Puerto Rico have been singled out for examination at this seminar. Their historical development has many common elements. Both passed to US control as a result of the war of 1898 and have been traditionally considered military enclaves of great strategic value for the control of their respective regions. On the other hand, the evident differences — a classical colony and a neocolony — that distinguish them are also an aspect that should enrich this discussion. In my own research I have become increasingly aware that a proper understanding of US military policy — and indeed of colonial policy more generally — towards Puerto Rico was not possible without an analysis of the case of the Philippines.

In this paper I intend to discuss four aspects of the nexus between militarism and human rights in the Puerto Rican case. Firstly, I would like to suggest that militarism is a powerful obstacle to the exercise of the collective right of the people to self-determination and independence. The right to independence has been recognized as an inalienable right of all peoples by the international community, particularly since the approval by the United Nations of Resolution 1514 (XV), known as the Magna Charta of Decolonization. Unfortunately this basic collective right is often overlooked in recent discussions on human rights possibly as a consequence of the fact that there are very few classical colonies left in the world. However, the US, to a large degree based on military considerations, seems determined to retain Puerto Rico as some sort of colonial fossil. Secondly, I will try to examine the relationship between the US military apparatus, internal repression and the respect for basic democratic rights. Thirdly, reference will be made to some of the social costs of militarism. Finally, the implications of the existence of a military enclave in Puerto Rico for the respect of human rights in other countries of the Caribbean region will be discussed.

At this point a necessary clarification should be made. When we speak of militarism in a colonial situation we refer to the prolongation of the metropolitan military apparatus in the colony with almost no mediation from indigenous groups. This does not mean that the military structure in a colony does not incorporate natives but that it is effectively and formally part of the metropolitan military. Therefore, it would be misleading to see the Puerto Rican case in terms of military dependence or indirect forms of influence

(ideological, supply of armaments, training, etc.) as in other underdeveloped countries. To speak of militarism in Puerto Rico necessarily implies a discussion of the direct US military presence in the island and of the military institutions constructed, maintained, and *directly controlled* by the metropolitan state.

Before entering into a discussion of the four aspects of the problem previously mentioned, I would like you to bear with me in a reflection on a concrete situation which I think illustrates the implications of militarism for human rights. My intention is not anecdotal, but rather to go beyond the immediate appearances of a social conflict *prima facie* unrelated to the question of militarism. The particular situation I want to describe in broad outline is the recent student strike at the Rio Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico where I teach.

2. The university strike, militarism and basic human rights

At the time of writing these notes, the students of the main campus of the University of Puerto Rico had been on strike for two months in protest against a sudden threefold increase in tuition fees. They argued that this measure — together with the expected cuts in basic educational grants provided by the US government — would severely limit the educational opportunities of lower and moderate income students and make Puerto Rico's public university accessible only to the rich. Thence their slogan of "education is a right not a privilege" and their demand that tuition fees be adjusted to income.

The university administration, on the other hand, answered that it would not make any more economic concessions to the students since it could make no further demands on the dwindling fiscal resources of the Puerto Rican government.

But why are the fiscal resources of the Puerto Rican government dwindling? Since the last recession in the mid-70s, the stagnant economy was kept afloat by means of massive influx of federal welfare funds and grants to the colonial government. This made colonialism rather expensive to the metropolitan state.

The revision of public spending by the Reagan administration — shifting resources from social services to armaments and simultaneously reducing taxation to increase the profits of monopoly capital — has serious economic implications in Puerto Rico due to its dependence on welfare funds. A reduction in federal social spending is immediately reflected in a significant drop in personal incomes and commercial activities which, without an expansion of productive activity, results in a contraction of the fiscal base of the Puerto Rican government and, sooner or later, in a reduction of basic social services such as higher education. Given this situation, why doesn't the Puerto Rican government increase taxation to offset the cuts in US social spending and prevent a deterioration of social services? Because this would mean either reducing the profits of multinational corporations with the foreseeable result of a further decline in industrial investment or taxing higher income Puerto Ricans who are a solid base of electoral support for the party in government.

What other alternative is then open to the government when sectors of the population, such as the students, begin to organize and protest because of their declining standards of living, the closing up of existing opportunities for personal development and the deterioration of basic social services due to increased military spending and higher corporate profits? The alternative of force, the ministry "solution", which tends to be

cheaper in the short run than satisfying social needs and demands. Who is better equipped to implement such a “solution”, even in civilian institutions, than bureaucrats with a military training and outlook ?

The student strike at the University of Puerto Rico is a case in point. Since the student leadership had very wide support and, without recourse to violence, brought all academic activity to a standstill, the administration declared a virtual state of siege, suspending constitutional rights such as the right to assembly and free expression. This did not deter the striking students and the campus was consequently closed. During this period the university was virtually turned over to the police in order to increase its “security”. Fences were built, identity cards were issued to students and staff, cars were barred from the central areas and 4,000 students were dismissed for not paying tuition. However, a solution seemed in sight as the administration and the students were negotiating and had reached a tentative agreement.

At this point the governor of Puerto Rico intervened with the university administration to prevent a “surrender” to student demands. Thus, the final decree issued by the Council on Higher Education clearly violated the agreement on a number of key points making it unacceptable to the students. It should be mentioned in this context, that a prominent member of the governor’s party and head of a parliamentary committee had suggested that the solution to the conflict would be, and I quote, “to pierce the students with bayonets through their bellies as shish kebab”. His comment went unchallenged by his party.

The administration then decided to open the campus with the assistance of several hundred effectives of the “Tactical Operation Unit” and the “SWAT” unit of the police, equipped with all the paraphernalia of modern repression. It also eventually managed to have four student leaders jailed for contempt of court. Needless to say, this created the conditions for the “shish kebab solution” while making a mockery of academic life. After several days of chasing striking and non-striking students to and fro, in the midst of a public outcry against the military occupation of the university, the police was removed. Upon this, the administration concocted a no less draconian “solution” : indefinitely closing the campus, sending home 23,000 students and dismissing without pay all the staff, from the chancellor to the maintenance workers !

Who are the university functionaries who have engaged in this exercise in authoritarianism ? The background of the two most prominent actors — the president of the university system and the president of the Council on Higher Education, the university’s board of directors — is most enlightening. In the late 60s, Dr. Ismael Almodovar was an obscure chemistry professor whose sole claim to notoriety was his passionate defence in the Academic Senate of the ROTC in the midst of violent student protest against the war in Vietnam. He argued that, among other things, his ROTC training had made him very punctual. His pro-military stance was rewarded by rapid promotion to the highest post in the university bureaucracy.

The case of Enrique Irizarry, the president of the Council, is even more interesting. I must confess that I had no idea who this person was until the strike broke out and I have been related to the University for the past 17 years. Last October 29, the following item appeared in the press :

“Who is Enrique Irizarry, president of the Council of Higher Education (CHE)? He describes himself in chronological order as: agronomist, former labour negotiator for the management of the Puerto Rican Cement, mortgage banker, and former secret agent of the Chemical Corps of the Army of the United States...

He explained that he obtained in 1956 his bachelor's degree in agricultural science, subsequently obtaining graduate degrees in Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. He later enrolled in the army where he remained for two years as a military technician in a secret project of the Chemical Corps.”¹

What could an agricultural engineer with graduate degrees from Cornell be doing in a secret project of the Chemical Corps of the Army other than developing the type of anti-vegetation chemicals which devastated Vietnamese agriculture? How can he, or Dr. Almodovar, perceive the striking students except as some sort of domestic version of the Vietcong who must be dealt with through countersubversive techniques? It is significant in this sense that the executive secretary of the Council on Higher Education, Luis González Vales, is a Brigadier General of the Puerto Rican National Guard.

The student strike at the University of Puerto Rico helps to grasp at a very concrete level some of the implications of militarism. In the absence of a viable model for economic development within the colonial framework, the deterioration of living standards and educational opportunities brought about partly by increased military spending leads to a dismantling of basic democratic rights and the rise of an increasingly authoritarian and militaristic style of exercising power.

3. The US military presence as an obstacle to the process of decolonization

US strategic thinking has always attributed great military value — particularly from a naval point of view — to the control of Puerto Rico. The island has been variously referred to as the “Gibraltar” or the “Malta” of the Caribbean due to its commanding position in the accesses to the Caribbean Sea. Colonial control over the island has been considered necessary to ensure its unrestricted military utilization. Consequently, the US military have consistently and forcefully opposed either independence or any reform of the colonial relationship that could restrict their freedom of action.

Military interest in Puerto Rico can be traced back to the mid-19th century when Secretary of State Seward attempted to purchase the island of Culebra from Spain in order to establish naval stations in the eastern Caribbean. With the rise of US imperialism in the late 19th century, Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, the leading naval strategist of imperialist expansion, once again articulated a keen interest in the establishment of bases in the eastern Caribbean as a precondition to the construction of the Panama Canal.² Even before the occupation of the island had been completed, Mahan officially recommended to the Secretary of the Navy the construction of naval stations in San Juan and Culebra.³

The intense naval interest in Puerto Rico in 1898 was apparent to the London Times war correspondent:

“I presume there is not a naval officer in the American service who does not think that the island ought to be permanently annexed for its value as a naval station. Military and naval officers alike would prefer an indemnity in this shape to an indemnity in money.”⁴

Although the annexation of Puerto Rico in 1898 can not be explained by making reference to purely military considerations, these were prominently present in the decision to retain Puerto Rico under colonial control since the military utilization of the island was considered necessary for the secure expansion of US capital and commercial interests both in the Caribbean and Asia. In this sense, Puerto Rico came to play the role of a bastion colony which facilitated the projection of US military power throughout the Caribbean region.

Military considerations were also present in the first major political revision of US — Puerto Rico relations which served to strengthen colonial domination : the imposition of US citizenship in 1917. This significantly occurred just prior to the declaration of hostilities by the US. It was expressly designed to increase the loyalty of the colonial population in the context of an international war and to enable forced conscription into the metropolitan army.

During the 1930s, the military played a central role in containing the emerging anti-imperialist movement. Puerto Rico and Panama — where the US had extensive military interests — became exceptions to Roosevelt's "Good Neighbour" policy. In these countries colonial control was hardened rather than relaxed. Significantly, Roosevelt entrusted the repression of the nationalist movement to Blanton Winship, an army general with a long colonial career.

From 1939 and throughout the war, the US launched a comprehensive programme of military construction and preparations. It was during this period that the naval complex of Roosevelt Roads was built and the first wave of land expropriations took place in Vieques. The considerable investment in military infrastructure as well as the prominent role played by the island in US strategical planning, enhanced the military's interest in retaining Puerto Rico under colonial rule even beyond the end of the war.

The opposition of the military to any form of decolonization was clearly stated during the hearings on a bill submitted by Senator Tydings granting independence to Puerto Rico. In 1943, both the Army and the Navy officially opposed independence — or even any discussion of it — for the duration of the war and for an "indefinite period thereafter". By 1945, when the war was practically ended, official documents of the *Joint Chiefs of Staff* asserted categorically that any form of sovereignty would interfere with the military's freedom of action and should therefore not be contemplated. I wish to quote at length from one of these documents because I feel it still reflects the Pentagon's position towards Puerto Rico :

- "a. Puerto Rico is a base of vital strategic importance for military, naval and air operations in the defence of the eastern, central and southeastern portions of this Hemisphere. The island... is our southeastern bastion. Puerto Rico is a fortified island and is the focal point of the air and naval strength of the United States in the eastern portion of the Caribbean Sea...
- c. ... The privileges that must be retained by the United States in Puerto Rico in order to insure the freedom of military, naval and air offensive or defensive operations necessary *are such as to constitute essentially a denial of sovereignty for Puerto Rico*. It is most desirable that the United States have full authority to handle both military and civil affairs in such key points as Puerto Rico, unhampered by the wishes and requirements of a foreign government... Whereas complete control of all present military and

naval reservations, of the routes of communication between them, of the transportation facilities that might be used to serve them, of all shipping, and of the population itself, is most desirable at the site of our principal headquarters and operating installations, there is no reason to believe that such action would be possible in a sovereign Puerto Rico...

For the reasons given, *the War Department finds it impossible to acquiesce in the premise that Puerto Rico can be given Sovereignty status*, and earnestly recommends that no further efforts be made in furtherance thereof.”⁵

With the onset of the Cold War, the US, despite some adjustments, maintained in operation the military machinery created during the Second World War. On the other hand, the gradual dismantling of other bases and installations in the Caribbean (including Panama in the near future) in the context of heightened US concern over revolutionary processes in the region and the related need to maintain adequate mechanisms for military influence and intervention, have served to enhance Puerto Rico's strategic value and to harden US resistance to any revision of the colonial question. The tendencies towards a greater military involvement in the region that became clear during Carter's last year in power and under the Reagan administration have obvious implications for Puerto Rico. As Jeanne Kirkpatrick recently stated to a group of Puerto Rican politicians, Puerto Rico is considered neither a domestic nor international issue but simply a non-negotiable geopolitical and strategic military bastion.⁶

Thus, the anticolonial struggle necessarily includes the opposition to US militarism. The permanence of the US military apparatus in Puerto Rico is incompatible with self-determination and has served to prolong colonial domination. Though independence can entail new forms of military influence, it can also create the conditions for the demilitarization of the society and the achievement of people's security.

4. Militarism, internal repression and the respect for basic democratic rights

Militarism has not only constituted an obstacle to decolonization but also the metropolitan military as an institution have been directly involved in the formulation and implementation of colonial policy, particularly in periods of crisis, and in the construction of the apparatus for internal repression of the colonial state. This dimension of the problem of militarism in Puerto Rico has been often overlooked due to the more subtle and less obvious forms the political involvement of the military assumed after the establishment of the Free Associated State in 1952. However, it should be remembered that for 42 years the military's political role in colonial affairs was formally recognized. Additionally, the protection of US military interests has required the existence of a massive apparatus of surveillance and repression — both civil and military — which constantly infringes on basic democratic rights.

From 1898 to 1900, the military directly ruled Puerto Rico. During this period, the basic features of the new colonial state and the main features of long term colonial policy were shaped. Thus, the US military were the founders of US colonial rule in Puerto Rico. The ideological orientation they brought to bear on this task was shaped by two previous historical experiences: the suppression of the Indians and of the emerging working class movement.

The military gave particular attention to the establishment of an internal military

organization composed of natives (the *Puerto Rico Volunteer Regiment*) as well as a highly centralized and militarized police force. Significantly, the military force was created to more effectively suppress indigenous armed groups which had spontaneously appeared with the collapse of Spanish authority. It later became the main US garrison in the island and was used as a combat unit in the Second World War and Korea. In 1919, the National Guard was established as an additional military force with the purpose of containing the working class movement. The National Guard gradually became the main instrument for internal repression and has been repeatedly used since 1950 against the population.

After a civilian regime was established in 1900, Puerto Rican colonial affairs were eventually placed under the jurisdiction of the *Bureau of Insular Affairs*, a dependency of the War Department. This meant that the military were institutionally involved in the formulation of even minute details of colonial policy. Though Puerto Rican affairs were transferred to the Interior Department in 1934, the governorship was held until 1940 first by an army general and later by an admiral.

Under General Winship (1934-1939), Puerto Rico was subjected to a virtual military dictatorship which consistently violated civil rights and brutally repressed the nationalist movement. Winship personally directed the worst massacre in Puerto Rican history, the Ponce Massacre of 1937. Thus, while in the metropolis New Deal reformism reigned, the response to the crisis in Puerto Rico consisted in the militarization of the colonial state.

Since the establishment of the Free Associated State in 1952, the political involvement of the military has not been so obvious. However, they are still a crucial component of the colonial power structure and wield their influence in all key instances of the state apparatus. The Vieques struggle has served to lay bare some of the links of the military, in this case the Navy, with the federal bureaucracy in Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican government. An example of this direct intervention at a municipal level and its implications for the democratic process was the Navy's role in the last local elections in Vieques. The Navy financially and propagandistically supported the opposition candidate and managed to unseat the incumbent who was considered inimical to the Navy's interests. Prior to the elections, the position of the mayor had been gradually undermined through lack of support of the Puerto Rican government bureaucracy. Finally, the governor of Puerto Rico practically refused to support the incumbent, who was a member of his own party, facilitating the victory of the Navy candidate. Needless to say, the outcome of the elections were a serious setback to opponents of the Navy's presence.

The protection of the extensive US military interests has required an inordinately large civilian and military apparatus for surveillance and repression. As opposition to the Navy's presence in Vieques has broadened, these activities have also increased. Last year the FBI office was increased by 75 agents and a close collaboration has developed between the FBI, the Navy and the Federal Court in persecuting Navy opponents. In addition, all military institutions carry out routine surveillance of the civilian population and of political groups. This tendency towards the growth of the police apparatus was confirmed this year by the creation of a joint US-Puerto Rico anti-terrorism task force. Though the stated aim of these measures is to persecute underground armed groups, its real purpose and effect is to stifle all forms of opposition to militarism and to the further militarization of the island planned by the Reagan administration. It is worth noting that none of the persons jailed around the Vieques struggle has been involved in violent activities.

5. Social costs of militarism

The US military affects people's daily life not only politically but also socially and economically. It also places the population in permanent danger of annihilation by making Puerto Rico a nuclear target. I wish to refer to four dimensions of the social costs of militarism which have a bearing on the question of human rights :

- a) the consequences of mass conscription and recruitment,
- b) the displacement of the population and disruption of community life brought about by the construction of bases and installations,
- c) the growing economic dependence on military expenditures, and
- d) the penetration of militaristic values among the population and the militarization of civilian institutions.

a) Mass conscription and recruitment

Since the first implementation of conscription in 1917, more than 200,000 have been drafted or conscripted into the regular US armed forces. This has meant that Puerto Rican troops have been involved in every US war or intervention in this century, including Korea and Vietnam. Though formal conscription has ended, what has been called "economic conscription" operates quite efficiently in the island. Given an official unemployment rate of over 20% , many young people have to opt between the army or permanent unemployment. Thus, military recruiters in Puerto Rico are able to consistently surpass their quotas. In the mid-70s, recruiters had waiting lists in Puerto Rico while in the US they were consistently falling short of their goals. The economic policies of the Reagan administration will have the effect of further increasing the flow of Puerto Ricans to the regular armed forces.

More than 2,400 Puerto Ricans have died in US wars, 1,300 of these in Vietnam. In Korea, two Puerto Rican soldiers were killed for every American in relation to the total population. The number of disabled veterans is staggering. About 56% of Vietnam war veterans suffer from mental illnesses. This amounts to more than 36,000 people in productive age. Military service also generates a pattern of personal dependence on the military bureaucracy that is magnified due to the economic situation. With about 170,000 veterans and 12,000 members of the *American Legion* this phenomenon has clear political implications.

b) Disruption of local communities

The building of large bases (*Roosevelt Roads* covers 37,000 acres) has disrupted the life of many communities and taken out of production considerable tracts of land. At the beginning of the century the main town of Culebra was moved by the Navy from the north coast to the south and, ironically, renamed Dewey. During the 1960s, the Navy even tried to remove the entire population from the island and have the municipality abolished. In Vieques, the population was forcefully removed from the East and West and concentrated in a narrow strip of land in the middle of the island. Among other things, massive land expropriations have resulted in the emigration of thousands of people from the affected communities. The ecological and economic effects in the case of Vieques have been well documented.

c) Dependence on military spending

With the stagnation of the economy, dependence on military related spending has increased. These funds reached 276 million last year, including veterans' benefits. With the Reagan administration the economic importance of these expenditures will increase both in absolute and relative terms since the cuts in welfare funds will increase the proportion of military funds in relation to the total of federal spending in Puerto Rico. This massive transfer of military-related funds serves to keep the colonial economy afloat and consequently reduces the economic options left to Puerto Rico. Since last year, prominent Puerto Rican politicians have been calling for the establishment of US armaments industries in Puerto Rico as a possible solution to the economic crisis. This would further militarize the economy.

d) Militaristic values and the militarization of civilian institutions

When we refer to the militarization of the colonial society we do not mean only the intense utilization of its territory for bases and installations, the integration of important segments of the population in overtly military institutions and the development of economic dependence on the military apparatus. It is also necessary to take into account the ideological penetration of the society by militaristic values and the military penetration of civilian institutions. It could be argued that militaristic values are a crucial dimension of colonial ideology.

The dissemination of values of order, discipline, obedience, sacrifice on behalf of US interests and the presentation of the imperialist military apparatus as the climax of technical-scientific progress contributes to the passive acceptance of the present colonial situation or even to the aspiration for the total annexation to the US.

The mass media are the most obvious instruments for the dissemination of these values in colonial society. Since US ideological products are dominant in the mass media (cinema, television, etc.) and these prominently contain pro-military values, they tend to penetrate the consciousness of the people. In addition, all the branches of the US Armed Forces have propaganda and public relations units which ensure that news favourable to the interests of the military apparatus (anti-communism, the Soviet threat, etc.) are constantly included in the mass media.

The military all carry out direct activities with the people (i.e. "civic action") designed to enhance their image and maintains link with a complex network of paramilitary and supposedly civilian groups (e.g., the American Legion, Navy League, Boy Scouts, etc.) through which they exercise indirect ideological and political influence.

Another important dimension of military penetration in civilian institutions are the ROTC and JROTC programmes in universities and secondary schools. In 1975, over 2,000 students participated in these programmes and the present tendency is towards a significant growth of these programmes.

Finally, there has also been a significant increase in the numbers of military officers recruited by the state bureaucracy as was illustrated by the example of the university authorities. In particular, National Guard officers are increasingly being given influential positions in the administrative structure of the Puerto Rican government.

Notes :

1. *El Mundo*, October 29, 1981.
2. Mahan, "The strategic features of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico", *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, October, 1897.
3. A.T. Mahan to John D. Long / August 15-20, 1898 in *Letters and Papers of Alfred Thayer Mahan*, 1975, pp. 582-587.
4. *The Times*, July 22, 1898.
5. Lt. Col. Dubois, Memo for Record, March 9, 1945, OPD 336 Puerto Rico, R.G. 165, NA. Emphasis added.
6. "Dialogo con Juan Mari Bras", *Pensamiento Critico*, junio/julio, 1981, p. 6.

MILITARISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS :

A REPORT

I. The Frame of Reference

Growing militarism, the unbridled conventional and nuclear arms race, distorted notions of security, increasing repression and the systematic violation of human rights have been seen by the World Council of Churches (WCC) to be inseparable factors contributing to the enormous contemporary threats to human survival. In a series of consultations, conferences, seminars and other meetings organized since 1977 in the context of the WCC Programme for Disarmament and Against Militarism and the Arms Race, the discussion of what constitutes "security" in a world threatened by annihilation has been central. The same is true of the work of the CCIA-based Human Rights Advisory Group, which has consistently opposed exaggerated forms of "national security" leading to the militarization of societies, in its efforts to address the root causes of violations of civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights of individuals, groups and nations. The participants at the CCIA Workshop on Militarism and Human Rights, meeting from 10-14 November 1981 in Glion, Switzerland, sought not only to criticize existing doctrines of national security, but also to offer elements for the elaboration of constructive alternatives. Our search for a more just basis upon which to build the edifice of peace has been predicated on certain common theological affirmations. Some of these were stated in the report of the 1978 WCC Conference on Disarmament :

"Security for humanity has its true basis in the loving will of God who desires that none shall perish and that all His creatures should enjoy the fulness of life. His Kingdom shall come and His will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven. In this confidence, Christians are freed from the burden of anxiety and are therefore able to work for peace and preserve hope even in the most hopeless situations.

Security concerns more than the individual. It involves mutual confidence and cooperation. Without trust, no genuine community is possible, but a community must also be open to critical questioning to avoid the abuse of power which threatens security for all.

False concepts of security blind the nations. Security must be subordinated to the common good of society and humanity and must not therefore be used as a justification for the violation of human rights. Security is not found in the escalation of armaments nor in promises of nuclear protection nor in the determination to obtain first strike capability."

Throughout history, concern for one's own security is most exaggerated when threats to survival seem greatest. Security is worshipped as an idol, and used by those who would manipulate power for their own benefit to confound the people. It was to such a situation that St. Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians was addressed, saying, "When people say, 'There is peace and security', then sudden destruction will come upon them as travail comes upon a woman with child, and there will be no escape." (I Thess. 5:3)

The report of the earlier (1977) Consultation on Militarism stated :

"We have a prophetic task to denounce both the structures of injustice which promote and sustain militarism in our world, and those who misuse the power they have acquired to maintain those structures. Yet we are conscious of the ways in which fellow human beings have allowed themselves to be trapped in the very structures they have helped to create. They need our help. So we see our task as going beyond mere denunciation to participation in the realization of the New Creation. This means that we must be bold enough to imagine new forms of struggle against the evils of militarism, and new alternatives to replace the perverse options for security and peace offered to us by a militaristic system. We must imagine ways to cause the establishment of justice for all to replace reliance upon arms. We must envision a future in which national security is seen in terms not of the maintenance of the privileges of the few, but in the equal distribution of wealth and power in society — people's security.

In this renewed struggle and vision of a new society for which we labour, there is no place for a militarism which claims to defend the "true faith"; there is no theological justification for the distorted concepts of "national security" which are spreading through much of the world; there is no place for trade in arms or in techniques of repression. This is a search which must engage all the resources of the Christian community : men *and* women, old *and* young, the ordained *and* the laity, technical experts *and* those whose expertise resides in the experience of having suffered the consequences of militarism. We do not engage in this task as an isolated community in the world, but together with all people who share our desire for justice, people of other faiths and ideologies in each of our nations.

Within the Christian church we recognize that we have nurtured, and in some places continue to nurture ideas and institutions which either promote or condone the growth of militarism. These we hope to help eliminate, together with those in all our churches who we know share our concern and commitment."

II. Facing New Tasks

1. The "security threat"

A form of world order emerged at the conclusion of World War II in which two major military alliances, NATO and WTO, and especially the two principal nuclear powers, USA and USSR, assumed responsibility for maintaining global security. Rather than declining in importance relative to the growing capacity of the United Nations to provide security on a collective basis, the role of the superpowers has tended to increase. Yet as more and more nations have separated themselves from former colonial rulers, and as international structures have become more complex, the post-World War II order is in crisis. New competing interests emerge which cannot easily be fit into old patterns. While the logical response should have been to develop a new, more participatory world

order, the dominance of a handful of major powers still continues. One consequence has been a strengthening of individual nations' notions of security and how to guarantee it, especially through military means.

Whereas, along the East-West axis, the predominant "threat" to security has been external, and in the so-called Third World the "internal enemy" has been perceived most dangerous, this picture too has been changing. In the North, concern for the internal threat to national security has grown in a number of cases in recent years, while in the South, the tendency to project external enemies has increased. Among the consequences, therefore, of the continuation and further elaboration of outmoded doctrines of global and national security are :

- the tendency to create enemy images through "disinformation campaigns" and otherwise, whereby target countries are characterized in ways which suit the needs of the guardians of national security, and the reality or the true intentions of the other are concealed or distorted;
- the tendency in the North to return to a heightened concern for the "internal enemy", blurring the distinction between dissenting ideas and subversive actions;
- the tendency to define conflicts everywhere in East-West terms, often ignoring the true reality of those conflicts, and infusing them with alien dimensions which lead to massive weapons inputs which escalate the levels of violence, make the conflicts more intractable, and increase the risk of direct involvement by the nuclear powers;
- the proliferation of legislation adopted or decreed for reasons of "national security" in both North and South with accompanying, and often most serious effects on the human rights of citizens.

In view of the continuing negative impact of the distorted notions of security which dominate much of the world, the following recommendations are made for future action :

- a) In order to counteract consistent attempts to distort and/or to redefine reality to suit a particular group's or nation's perceived self-interests, the churches should redouble their efforts to see to it that facts are verified and fairly interpreted, especially as regards the characterization of a group or a people as "enemies" and therefore "threats to national security".
- b) A more systematic study is needed of the development of "national security legislation" in different countries. A number of observations point to the existence of a consistent pattern of legislative enactments leading through successive stages of restrictions of freedoms to repression and systematic violations of human rights. The results of such a study could be helpful to people in situations where the militarization process is incipient, as they seek to develop effective systems of social defence. Such a study could also prove useful to those in situations where, on the basis of legitimate threats to a people's security, legislation is adopted whose later repeal proves difficult or impossible.
- c) The churches should encourage their governments to make public disclosures of

facts especially susceptible to misinterpretation and misuse in campaigns designed to create enemy images. Secrecy, though perhaps still necessary in some sensitive areas, generally breeds suspicion. As a first step, all governments could be encouraged to cooperate with the UN in developing a common reporting instrument for military budgets.

- d) Increased attention should be given to the rapid proliferation in many parts of the world of security and intelligence agencies, both public and private, including paramilitary forces and secret police, which operate with minimum or non-existent accountability.

2. Military research and development (R & D) and the arms race

The military R & D empire employs up to half a million of the best qualified scientists and engineers in the world. It has grown to become one of the key factors in the perpetuation of the arms race. By usurping a controlling position in almost all branches of science, it exerts a decisive influence on the course of the entire human scientific and technological endeavour. In so doing, it distorts priorities and preempts research that is urgently needed for the betterment of human conditions, especially in the Third World.

It is important to find ways to restrict military R & D and bring it under the scrutiny and control of society. In the context of the role of military R & D in feeding the arms race, it is important to reduce *secrecy* and arrive at greater openness regarding military issues.

While military secrecy is rooted in international military preparations and is ideologically justified by the need to deprive the opponent of essential information, it has the effect of withholding knowledge of the military process from the general public. Military doctrines and activities should be made more transparent in order to establish a greater degree of democratic control.

3. The impact of nuclear deterrence

Aiming at a constant increase and improvement in retaliatory power, nuclear deterrence has become a compelling prescription for armaments and continuing war preparation. Nuclear deterrence has both external and internal effects. Externally, it feeds threat and intimidation into the international system, and sustains the action-reaction-over-reaction mechanism of the arms race. Internally, it serves to legitimize armaments, and by nurturing and cultivating perceptions of hostility, it tends to lock opposing camps into structured enmity.

Nuclear deterrence is not a static, but a degenerative dynamic concept, focussing not on defensive but on offensive capabilities. The modernization of nuclear weapons fuelled by military research and development, has led to the "modernization" of strategic doctrines from massive retaliation through flexible response, to counterforce and countervailing strategies.

4. Intervention in the Third World

Along with the current modernization of nuclear arsenals, there is a massive expansion of conventional arms capacities. There are strong indications that changes both in military strategies and armament inventories of the superpowers are intended to gear up for sustained intervention in the Third World. Newly constituted forces, equipped with highly advanced conventional arms, are capable of inflicting very intensive violence on the people they invade, even without resorting to the use of such

tactical nuclear weapons as enhanced radiation warheads (“neutron bombs”). However, because of the high intensity of such conventional warfare, nuclear deterrence may become an issue. If one side or the other fears defeat in such an encounter, the temptation to resort to the use of tactical nuclear weapons will be overwhelming, thereby risking a chain of escalation which may end up in the global catastrophe of an overall nuclear war. The immense flow of sophisticated conventional weaponry to the Third World and the growing danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons in Third World countries seriously increases the danger that such scenarios, presumably already part of military contingency planning, sooner or later will become reality.

5. New developments in militarization

Certain new features of militarism have appeared, or old ones strengthened, since the WCC began to study this problem. Among them the following should be highlighted :

- counterinsurgency techniques developed for use in Third World situations have been applied internally, especially in some poor urban areas, by police forces in some industrialized countries;
- the label “terrorist” is being applied indiscriminately and systematically by some governments not only to legitimate liberation forces, but also to any group or government which is perceived to be a political opponent;
- the arms trade, especially in weaponry most suitable for internal repression, has accelerated both to and among Third World countries.

Militarism is a dynamic process. The provisional definitions of “militarization” and “militarism” used by the 1977 WCC Consultation on Militarism have been useful working instruments. They have helped to clarify ideas. Yet they may be too static to describe trends now seen more clearly. Some areas where further work is needed are :

- a) The earlier WCC definition of militarization embraced the totality of a state’s structures, ideology and behaviour. While this is true in many cases, there are states where militarization manifests itself first in particular sectors of societies with the risk of spreading throughout the whole at later stages. More work is required on the dynamic itself, as an aid in the diagnosis of militarism at its early stages, in order to develop systems of social protection.
- b) Earlier WCC reports concentrated primarily on militarization of Third World societies, which was seen as a product of a dominance-dependency relationship between industrialized and underdeveloped countries, as well as on the effects of the superpower rivalry on Third World countries. More attention may now be needed to the process of militarization in the dominant countries themselves.
- c) It has to be recognized that the militarization of society creates situations of structural violence which may leave people no alternative except the exercise of defensive revolutionary or insurrectional violence. While the churches have helped people in some societies to gain a deeper awareness of their own oppression, they have given too little thought to helping popular resistance movements themselves to avoid the pitfalls of militarism in the process of the liberation of society. More attention may need to be given to providing opportunities for peoples engaged in struggles for justice to share experiences with an eye to

developing forms of active non-violent resistance. At the same time, more attention must be given to developing solidarity in the industrialized countries which resists more actively the support given to repressive regimes.

- d) The churches should sponsor research and disseminate its results on the concrete consequence of militarism for people, particularly for people in the Third World, and its detrimental effect on the processes of development. This effort should be more imaginative and sophisticated, clearly showing the diverse, often subtle, dimensions of militarism, in particular with regard to the violation of human rights. The presentation and analysis of specific cases of militarism should be directly related to the experience of the public to which it is aimed. Concrete cases of military repression, mounting secrecy and authoritarianism, displacement of communities, violation of the civil rights of soldiers, weapons testing in the Third World, etc. could be chosen for analysis. To make this viable, the churches should support projects which combine academic research and popular action.
- e) It is vital to establish links of solidarity between small groups, presenting concrete possibilities for action against militarism at the grass-roots level. Over the past several years, an increasing number of churches, groups, institutes, and movements, both at local and regional levels, have become engaged in research and concrete actions in opposition to the militarization of their societies and the disastrous effects of militarism on the realization of human rights. These research and action groups often find themselves isolated and short of financial and other resources needed to carry out their work. The WCC should encourage its member churches and related national and regional councils of churches and church agencies to develop programmes of support for such efforts. Support might include funding, advocacy, assistance in the dissemination of information, and assistance in providing international linkages among similar efforts.
- f) More concentrated attention must be given to developing alternative means of guaranteeing peoples' security, demilitarizing societies, resolving local, regional and international conflicts and eliminating the dominance-dependency relationship among nations. One alternative might be to promote a new, more aggressive policy of neutrality of individual states, groups of states or whole regions. Such a declaration of neutrality (as distinct from a position of non-alignment) might include limits to or a ban on arms production, the exclusion of foreign military bases or manoeuvres, and the negotiation of external guarantees of neutrality. Parallels to this exist in current proposals for nuclear-weapons-free zones and zones of peace.

III. Towards New Conceptions

1. Disarmament and development

The central focus on armaments results in the misallocation of human and financial resources which are urgently needed for development. However, the connection between disarmament and development should not be made in a mechanistic and simplistic way. Development is not synonymous with economic growth, and cannot be brought about simply through economic investments and financial transfers.

Current studies which presuppose a direct and simple relationship between disarmament and development should be critically evaluated. In particular, the WCC

should sponsor a study of the recent UN Report on Disarmament and Development.

2. The moral responsibility of scientists

Scientists working in military R & D should assume greater moral responsibility for the consequences of their work. The current pragmatic orientation and preoccupation with professional values is rooted largely in the narrow specialization of modern science. This includes the compartmentalization of the natural sciences and the humanities, which leads in certain instances to the dehumanization of science. In this context, there is need for interdisciplinary work whose overall purpose should be the well-being of society by bridging the ever increasing gap between the natural sciences and the humanities, as well as between each specific science and the wider culture in which it operates.

The isolation of disciplines and scientists is intimately linked with preparations for war. Churches should take concrete steps to promote dialogue and exchange between natural and social scientists on the one hand and professionals in the humanities on the other, both within nations and among nations, in order to engender a deeper understanding of the moral obligations of scientists for the fate of humankind.

3. An alternative concept of security

It is difficult, if not impossible, to formulate a conception of security which is valid for all countries and all times. However, security doctrines should conform to certain general principles, most of which are contained in the norms and spirit of international law as expressed in the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. The formulation of security doctrines within these parametres should serve to lessen international tensions, exclude research on and the production and utilization of weapons of mass destruction, eliminate and prohibit nuclear weapons, decrease the stockpiles of conventional weapons, limit the threat and use of force in resolving conflicts among nations, and prevent the utilization of the military for internal repression. These general principles should be incorporated in the constitutional or legal frameworks of different countries, and should provide a standard for the evaluation of security doctrines. Among others, they should include :

- a ban on the *threat and use of force*;
- respect for the *self-determination* and *sovereignty* of all peoples;
- *non-intervention* in the internal affairs of other nations;
- respect for internationally recognized boundaries; and
- respect for *human rights*.

In further articulation of these basic principles, security doctrines should stress :

- collective responsibility for keeping peace and security in the world, and strengthening the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations, particularly in order to prevent armed conflict in the Third World or its escalation into major international conflict;
- weapons serving defensive purposes rather than those which enhance offensive capabilities;

- the reduction of armaments to the greatest possible degree; and
- the prohibition of the use of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear, chemical, biological, and other such weapons.

Security doctrines should reflect the principle of people's security. They should not be based only on military considerations. No security doctrine which does not have as its central aim the survival and the welfare of the civilian population should be adopted. Security doctrines should not be used to define a country's own population or large segments of it as the enemy, casting the national army in the role of a virtual force of occupation.

4. Collective solidarity rights

A central field of action for the churches in the further advancement of human rights is the codification of collective security rights such as the *right to peace* and the *right to development*.

The right to peace can be seen as a collective claim to the right to life. A reaffirmation is a concise and pertinent form of all the UN Charter provisions, resolutions and formal declarations, as well as points concerning international security and non-use of force is needed. The inclusion of these issues into the human rights architecture is long overdue. Codification of the right to peace could have a profound impact on the national and international handling of problems of peace and war on which informal consensus exists.

Of parallel importance is the broader conceptualization of peace to include not only the absence of manifest violence and armed conflict, but also the concern for human security in a social and economic sense.

In the codification of the right to development, the satisfaction of basic human needs in the Third World is of crucial importance.

IV. Preparations for the WCC VIth Assembly and the Continuing Programme

1. In the context of preparations for the WCC VIth Assembly in 1983, intensive discussions should be promoted in the churches to expand the ecumenical consensus on the content of human rights as formulated by the Vth Assembly in 1975. Collective security rights should be included as part of that consensus. With regard to the right to peace, particular attention should be paid to the right to freedom from fear and the right to conscientious objection.

2. A continuing programme for Disarmament and Against Militarism and the Arms Race should emerge from the VIth Assembly. It should include, *inter alia*, further work to elucidate the root causes of violations of human rights to be found in militarism, promotion of direct encounters between peoples in conflict in order that they might assess for themselves the truth in allegations about one another, and promotion of encounters among regions besieged by militarism.

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